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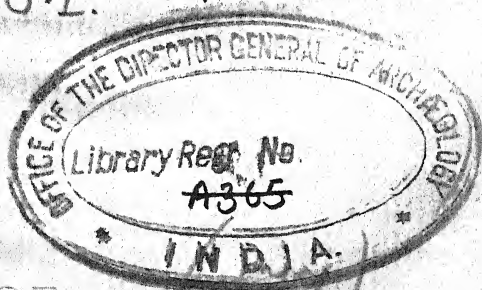




This number contains an English translation of passages in Greek and Latin literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, prepared by President W. Sherwood Fox, Ph.D., D. Litt., F. R. S. C., of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada, and Professor R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A., Assistant Professor of Classics, in the same University.

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## FOREWORD.

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In the course of correspondence I had with our President Mr. M. P. Khareghat in the matter of the publication of a review of Professor Pettazoni's book "Religione di Zarathushtra" he advised me to have the Latin and Greek passages given at the end of Professor Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran" translated into English. So I wrote to the well-known scholar, Dr. Louis H. Gray of Columbia University, New York, requesting him to translate the passages referred to above. Dr. Gray advised us to include in the translation the passages collected by himself and published in *Le Muséon* as well as those collected by Clemen in his *Fontes Historiæ Religionis Persicæ*, and recommended that the work of translation be entrusted to President W. Sherwood Fox, Ph.D., D.Litt., then Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Professor of Classics in the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. The work was accordingly entrusted to Dr. Fox and this book is the result. Dr. Fox has associated with him in the work Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A., Assistant Professor of Classics of the same university. The Institute is thankful to both these gentlemen for the good work done by them.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

*Joint Honorary Secretary,*

*K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.*

2nd January, 1928.



## TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

So far as we know this work is the first attempt to produce a translation in a modern language of even approximately all the passages in extant Greek and Latin literature that refer to Zoroaster and the religion of ancient Persia. While we do not and dare not claim that the compilation we present is absolutely exhaustive, it is true that we have included in it practically all the passages that have been noted by scholars down to the present time and for that reason we feel confident that only very few passages, and these probably unimportant, have escaped our notice. It is quite possible that the recently revived interest in the patristic writers may be responsible for the discovery, from time to time, of references to Zoroaster and the religion attributed to him, which, like the proverbial needle in a haystack, have hitherto escaped the notice of investigators. As far as compilation is concerned our task has been relatively light, for we have had before us the comprehensive collections of such thorough scholars as Louis H. Gray and Carl Clemen; to the passages contained in their works we have added others contributed by friends, notably by Dr. Gray himself, and also a number which we came across in the course of our own reading.

The work of translation, on the other hand, has been beset by many difficulties. Vagueness of reference, the ignorance and credulity of the original authors, corruptness of texts, the ambiguity of terms and the almost unknown meaning of certain words—all these at times have made progress uncertain and slow. In addition, one must not ignore the retarding effect of the necessity of constantly comparing the numerous variations of statement made by different authors at widely different periods regarding the same thing; this necessity could not be evaded if the translation was to be given any appearance of unity. Happily, we are spared the obligation of preparing a commentary upon our material; that we leave to scholars who have a special competency in the field concerned.

We wish to record an acknowledgment of our debt to Dr. Gray; his unceasing practical help and his tireless interest have been of untold value to us. To Professor A. C. Johnson and Dr. A. V. Holmes Dennis of Princeton University we are exceedingly grateful for assistance in securing photostatic copies of texts that were not available in Canadian libraries. The generous patience and kindly sympathy of the Editor of the journal have been a constant encouragement to us.

LONDON, CANADA.

*August 7th, 1927.*

W. SHERWOOD FOX.

R. E. K. PEMBERTON.

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# PASSAGES IN GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE RELATING TO ZOROASTER AND ZOROASTRIANISM TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

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## SOURCES OF THE PASSAGES TRANSLATED.

Louis H. Gray, Appendix V in *Zoroaster, The Prophet of Ancient Iran*, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University Press, New York, 1919 (referred to as G).

Louis H. Gray, Additional Classical Passages mentioning Zoroaster's Name, *Le Muséon*, IX (1908), pp. 311-318 (referred to as GM).

Carolus Clemen, *Fontes Historiæ Religionis Persicæ*, Marcus and Weber, Bonn, 1920 (referred to as C).

Translations whose sources are not indicated by one of the foregoing letters represent passages not included in any of the three collections.

## XANTHUS.

(wrote in the reign of Artaxerxes I and before Herodotus, Fifth Century, B. C.).

In Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* I, p. 42, frag. 19 (G. 232 ; C. 30-31) : Now while in great haste they were stretching a purple canopy over Croesus, superstitious fears fell upon the people who were alarmed by the darkness and the storm as well as by the flashing of the lightning, and who were being trampled under the feet of the horses maddened by the noise of the thunder ; at the same time the oracles of the Sibyl and the sayings of Zoroaster came to their minds.

So they began to call upon Croesus, even more earnestly than before, to save them, and they fell forward to the ground upon their knees praying to the god to be propitious. Some authorities say that Thales, judging by certain signs that it was going to rain, proceeded to wait until the rain should actually fall.

As for Zoroaster, the Persians claim that it was from him they derived the rule against burning dead bodies or defiling fire in any other way, and that after this rule had been followed for a long time they finally established it as a custom.



*ib.* Quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* (ed. Stählin) III, 11, 1 (C. 3): Xanthus . . . . . says in his writings on the Magians: "The Magian men cohabit with their mothers; they may also have like association with daughters and sisters; moreover wives are held in common openly and without constraint, but by two men making a friendly agreement whenever one of them desires the wife of the other.

See also Diogenes of Laerte.

#### HERODOTUS.

(lived about 484—425 B. C.)

*Histories* (ed. Hude) I, 86 (C. 3): The . . . . . Persians captured Sardis and took Crœsus himself prisoner . . . . . After his seizure they brought him before Cyrus, who built a great pyre and placed Crœsus, bound and shackled, upon it, and beside him fourteen Lydian boys, intending thereby either to consecrate them to some god as the first fruits of the campaign or perhaps to fulfil a vow. Or again, he may have put Crœsus on the pyre because he had heard of his piety and wished to find out if some divinity would save him from being burned alive.

*ib.* 101 (C. 3): These are the tribes of the Medes: the Busæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budians, the Magians.

*ib.* 107 (C. 3): Astyages . . . . . the son of Cyaxares, succeeded to the throne. He had a daughter whom he named Mandane and in a dream he thought he saw her make so much water as to overflow his own home city and all Asia as well. When he had submitted the vision to those of the Magians who interpret visions, he was filled with alarm upon learning from them the significance of each detail.

*ib.* 108 (C. 4): During the first year after Cambyses had consorted with Mandane Astyages beheld another vision: it seemed to him that he saw grow from this daughter's generative organs a grapevine that covered all Asia. Having referred the vision to the interpreters of dreams he sent for his daughter, who was now with child, to come to him from Persia; when she had come he kept her under guard, since he desired to destroy that to which she would give birth, for the interpreters of dreams were declaring the vision to mean that his daughter's issue would be king in his stead.



*ib.* 120 (C. 4): Astyages in deliberating concerning Cyrus proceeded to summon the same Magians who had thus interpreted his dream. When they had come he asked them in what manner they had made their interpretation of the vision. They answered in the same way, saying: "The child must become king if he has lived on and has not died." The king responded to them in this wise: "The child still lives and the boys of the rural village where he is being reared have made him king. Moreover, he has done all those things that real kings do, for he has organized orders of spearmen and chamberlains and messengers and has thus begun to rule. And now to what do these things seem to point?" Said the Magians: "If the child still lives and has become king without premeditation, then be of good cheer and take courage, for he will not rule a second time; for, apart from certain details, some of our predictions have only now been proved correct and certainly things like dreams are entirely untrustworthy." Astyages thus answered them: "Magians, I am myself strongly convinced that since the child has become king my dream has been fulfilled and that the child forebodes me no ill. Nevertheless do ye consider the matter thoroughly and give me such counsel as will be the best for my house and for yourselves." To which the Magians said: "Even we hold it to be of much importance that thy rule be kept secure; for, if it passeth to this child who is a Persian, it will become alien and then we being Medes and hence strangers will become slaves and of no account in the eyes of the Persians, but so long as thou remainest king, being our fellow-citizen, we have a share of authority and have great honors from thy hand. Thus then it behoves us to look ahead to the interest of thyself and of thy rule."

*ib.* 128 (C. 4): Astyages impaled the Magian interpreters of dreams who persuaded him to send Cyrus away.

*ib.* 131 (C. 5): I am aware....that the Persians observe the following customs: so far from being in the habit of setting up statues, temples, and altars, they regard those who do so as fools; the reason being, in my opinion, that, unlike the Greeks, they never considered the gods to be of the same nature as man. They call the whole circle of the heavens Zeus, and it is their practice to climb the highest mountains and there make sacrifices to him. They sacrifice also to the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water and winds. Now these were originally the only deities to whom they sacrificed; but they have acquired from the Assyrians and Arabians the habit of sacrificing also to Urania. Now the Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta, the Arabians Alilat, and the Persians Mitras.

*ib.* 132 (C.5): The established Persian form of sacrificing to the above-mentioned deities is as follows: They do not, when preparing to sacrifice, either build altars or kindle fire; they pour no libations, have no pipe-music, and neither put a garland upon the victim nor sprinkle barley-corns over it. When a Persian desires to sacrifice to any of these deities he leads the victim to an open place, and having placed a garland, preferably of myrtle, on his tiara, calls upon the god. The man who is sacrificing may not pray for the happiness of himself alone; since it is into the whole people that he himself is born, he beseeches the god to grant prosperity to all the Persians and to their king. When he has dismembered the victim and boiled the flesh, he spreads a carpet of the tenderest herbage, preferably clover, and then places all the flesh upon it. When he has arranged the pieces, a Magian, standing beside him chants an incantation which the Persians say has the character of a genealogy of the gods. (They may not make sacrifice except in the presence of a Magian.) Then, after waiting a short time, the man who has sacrificed removes the flesh and does with it whatever his reason decides.

*ib.* 133 (C.5): It is their practice to honour above all days that one on which they were born. On this day they think it right to spread a more elaborate meal than they do on other days. The rich among them serve up an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass, roasted whole in ovens; the poor serve up the small animals. They use little grain, but have many courses of dessert, but not all at once. And for this reason the Persians say that the Greeks, when at meals, get up hungry, because nothing of any account is served after dinner; but that if anything were brought on, they would never stop eating. They are excessively addicted to wine: they may neither vomit, nor relieve themselves before any one else. These customs, then, they maintain, and they are accustomed, when under the influence of wine, to deliberate about the most important matters. Whatever decision they reach in their deliberations is put before them the next day, when they are sober, by the master of the house in which they conducted their deliberations. And if they approve it when sober also, they adopt it; if not, they reject it. And any decision which they first reach when sober they re-examine when under the influence of wine.

*ib.* 134 (C.6): When they meet each other in the streets, you may tell in the following way whether the men who meet each other are equals in birth. Instead of addressing each other they kiss on the mouth; if however one of them is a little

inferior they kiss on the cheek ; while if the one be very much less well-born he falls at the feet of the other and does him obeisance. They honour most of all, after themselves, their nearest neighbours ; and next the neighbours of these. Beyond this degree they hold people in honour in proportion to their distance away, giving least of all to those who live farthest away from them, since they consider themselves far superior to the rest of mankind in every respect, and that other people partake of virtue in the above-mentioned proportion, the farthest away being the worst. When the Medes were supreme the peoples ruled each other ; the Medes ruled over all, and over their nearest neighbours ; these over their own neighbours and the latter also over theirs. The Persians also give honour in accordance with the same rules ; for this people extended the limits of its rule and administration.

*ib.* 135 (C. 6) : The Persians adopt foreign customs more readily than any other people. They wear the Median dress, because they think it finer than their own, and for war they don the Egyptian breastplate. When they hear of luxurious habits, they practise them, of whatever kind they may be. They even indulge in homosexual vice, having learned it from the Greeks. Each man has a number of lawful wives, and an even larger number of concubines.

*ib.* 136 (C. 6) : Manly virtue has come to be approved as consisting, primarily, in being a good fighter ; secondarily, in having a number of children to point to. The King sends gifts every year to the man who shows the most. Bodily strength, however, is valued much higher. They instruct their children between the ages of five and twenty in three subjects only, horsemanship, archery, and truth-telling. The child, before he is five years old, is not shown to his father, but lives with the women. The motive of this practice is to avoid causing distress to the father in case the child should die while it is being reared.

*ib.* 137 (C. 6) : I approve, then, of this custom, and also of the one which forbids the putting to death on a single charge either of any man by the King himself, or of any of his slaves by any of the other Persians, on the ground that it is wrong to do irreparable harm to any one on a single charge. Only if, after consideration, a man finds that the other's crimes outweigh his services does he give vent to his indignation in this way. And they say that no man has ever yet murdered his father or mother, and that in such cases as had occurred investigation

would inevitably lead to the discovery that the murderers were either supposititious children or children born in adultery, it being quite improbable that the man who was really their father would be murdered by his own children.

*ib.* 138 (C. 6-7) : They are not allowed even to speak of any of those things which they are not allowed to do. They are accustomed to think of telling lies as the most disgraceful vice, and of owing money as the next, for the reason, chief among many others, that a man who is in debt will inevitably fall into some falsehood. Any of their people who suffer from leprosy or white leprosy avoid entering a town and do not mix with the other Persians, while their affliction is alleged to be the consequence of some sin against the sun. The Persians assemble in crowds and drive out of the country any foreigners who are attacked by these diseases, as also white doves, and they give the same reason for doing so. They do not relieve themselves in or spit into a river, nor wash their hands in one, nor allow any one else to do so, but revere rivers in an especial degree.

*ib.* 139 (C. 7) : It has happened that they have acquired also the following characteristic, which has escaped the notice of the Persians themselves, but has been detected by us. Their names, which are appropriate to their personal appearance and their self-importance, all end in the same letter, which the Dorians call San and the Ionians Sigma. Investigation will show that the Persian names, not only some of them, but all alike, terminate in this letter.

*ib.* 140 (C. 7) : So much I can accurately affirm about them from my own knowledge. That the corpse of a Persian is not buried before it has been mauled by a bird or a dog, is, however, rumoured in a manner suggestive of an attempt at concealment, and without precision. I have positive knowledge that the Magians do this, for they do it openly. At any rate the Persians cover the corpse with wax and then bury it in the ground. The Magians are very different from the rest of the people and especially from the priests in Egypt, for the latter make it a religious duty to refrain from killing any living thing, except for the purpose of sacrifice, while the Magians kill with their own hands anything but a dog or a man, and vie with each other keenly in putting to death promiscuously ants and snakes and all other reptiles, and also birds as well. And as to this custom, let it maintain the character which it had from the beginning. I will now return to my original subject..

*ib.* 187 (C. 7): This very same queen (Nitocris) contrived this deception also. On the summit of the gates of the city through which most people passed she built a tomb for herself and cut the following words upon it: "Whosoever of my successors upon the throne of Babylon is in need of money, let him open the tomb and take what money he desireth; but if he needeth it not, let him not open the tomb, for that is the better course." This tomb remained untouched until Darius became king. Now Darius thought it a shame not to make any use at all of these gates where lay the money which the inscription forbade anyone to take. The reason that he refrained from using the gates was that the dead body lay over the head of anyone who passed through. But he did open the tomb and there found no money, but only the corpse and these words: "If thou wert not greedy and insatiate for money, thou wouldst not have opened the resting-place of the dead."

*ib.* 189 (C. 7-8): When Cyrus was on his way to Babylon he came to the river Gyndes. As he was about to attempt to cross over it (the passage requires boats), one of his sacred white horses madly stepped into the river and attempted to cross it, but the stream engulfed it and carried it away in its course. Cyrus was exceedingly angry at the river for this act of violence and threatened that he would so enfeeble it that even women would easily cross it without wetting their knees. After uttering the threat he abandoned the expedition against Babylon and proceeded to divide his army into parts. Having divided his army into two parts he laid plans for one hundred and eighty straight trenches to radiate in every direction from each bank of the Gyndes and ordered the army to dig them. Inasmuch as a vast host was engaged the task was brought to completion; nevertheless, they spent the entire summer there in this undertaking.

*ib.* 190 (C. 8): When Cyrus succeeded in punishing the river Gyndes by distributing its water among three hundred and sixty channels, the second spring was beginning and accordingly he set out against Babylon.

*ib.* III, 16 (C. 8): Cambyses . . . . came from Memphis to the city of Saïs, wishing to repeat the deeds he had already done. That is, as soon as he entered the royal buildings of Amasis, he gave orders that the body of Amasis be taken outside; this done, he commanded his men to scourge it, to pluck out the hairs from its head, to pierce it with goads and to subject it to all other indignities. When they had wearied



so doing (for the body, being mummified, endured this treatment without falling apart), Cambyses gave orders that it be burned, but thereby was guilty of impiety, since the Persians regard fire as a god. Indeed, the burning of dead bodies is contrary to the customs of both peoples; to those of the Persians, for the reason that has been stated, since they say it is wrong to defile a god with a human corpse; to those of the Egyptians, because they believe that fire is a living animal that devours whatever it seizes and that when it has sated itself with food it dies along with that which it has devoured. . . . In this way, then, Cambyses was commanding acts to be performed that were approved by the customs of neither people.

*ib.* 25 (C. 8) : After this . . . his expedition reached Thebes, where he told off about fifty thousand of his men, with orders to enslave the Ammonii and set on fire the seat of the oracle of Zeus. With the rest of the army he then marched against the Ethiopians.

*ib.* 27 (C. 8-9) : After the arrival of Cambyses at Memphis, (the bull) Apis, which the Greeks call Epaphus, appeared to the Egyptians. On its appearance the Egyptians straightway donned their finest clothes and indulged in festivities. Observing them so engaged, Cambyses was convinced that these rejoicings were occasioned by his reverse, and he therefore summoned to his presence the overseers of Memphis. When they appeared before him, he enquired why, on this occasion of his presence in the city after the loss of a part of his army, the Egyptians were acting in this way; whereas nothing of the kind had occurred at the time of his former sojourn in the city. The governors explained that a god, whose custom it was to manifest himself at long intervals, had appeared to them; and that on every occasion of his appearance the whole people of Egypt rejoiced and kept feast. Having heard their tale, Cambyses declared that they were liars, and on that ground punished them with death.

*ib.* 28 (C. 9) : Having put them to death, he next summoned the priests before him. Upon their giving a similar explanation, he said that if any tame god had arrived among the Egyptians, the fact would not escape his notice. He then ordered the priests to bring Apis before him, and they departed with this purpose, etc.

*ib.* 29 (C. 9) : When the priests brought Apis before him, Cambyses, who was not without some trait of insanity, drew his

dagger with the intention of striking Apis in the belly. He stabbed it, however, in the thigh, and then, breaking into a laugh, said to the priests: "Scoundrels that you are, of such sort then are your gods, creatures of flesh and blood, that can feel the knife? Worthy indeed of the Egyptians is such a god as this. Nevertheless shall you regret that you thus mocked me." With these words he commanded the proper officials to scourge the priests, and to put to death any of the other Egyptians whom they should find keeping the feast. Thus was the festival of the Egyptians brought to an end. The priests were chastised and Apis lay in the temple wounded and wasted away. After his death the priests buried him without the knowledge of Cambyses.

*ib.* 31 (C. 9-10): He put to death the sister who had followed him into Egypt and with whom he cohabited though she was his full sister. Before this it had in no wise been the custom of the Persians to cohabit with their sisters. But Cambyses married her in the following way. He fell in love with one of his sisters and then, desiring to marry her, he summoned the royal judges, since the thing he was planning was contrary to all custom, and enquired of them whether there was any law which gave the right to cohabit with his sister to any man who desired it. . . . On being questioned by Cambyses the judges gave a reply that was at once safe and in accordance with justice, saying that while they could not discover any law which gave to a brother the right to cohabit with a sister, they had nevertheless discovered another law which gave to the King of the Persians the right to do whatsoever he willed. In this way they avoided breaking the law, in spite of their fear of Cambyses, and to prevent their own destruction for maintaining the law they unearthed another law which satisfied the desire of a man who wanted to marry his sister. So Cambyses married the sister he loved; yet after no long time he married another sister also. Of these it was the younger who had followed him into Egypt and whom he put to death.

*ib.* 35 (C. 10): He (Cambyses) arrested twelve Persians on an utterly trivial charge and buried them alive with their heads downwards.

*ib.* 37 (C. 10): He (Cambyses) visited the temple of Hephæstus and made much mockery of the statue of the god. Now the statue of Hephæstus bears a close resemblance to the Phœnician Patæci, which the Phœnicians parade as figure heads upon the prows of their triremes. For those who are not familiar



with these, I can describe them by saying that they are representations of pygmies. He entered also the temple of the Cabiri, in violation of the religious sanction which allowed only the priests to do so. He loaded their statues with taunts, and had them burnt.

*ib.* 62 (C. 10): (Prescapes): 'I did in person that which you ordered, and buried him (Smerdis) with my own hands. If then the dead rise again, you may, assuredly, expect that Astyages also, the Mede, will rise again.'

*ib.* 65 (C. 10): (Cambyzes): 'It was Smerdis.....the Magian to whom the god, in my dream, pointed as the man who should rise in insurrection. This deed then have I done; and you must consider that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, is no longer alive among you. But the Magians are wielding the kingly power, namely, he whom I left as governor of the palace and Smerdis his brother. Now he, to whom above all should have fallen the duty of avenging the shameful treatment which I have suffered at the hand of the Magians, has most impiously been done to death by his own nearest relation. Since then he is no longer alive, in the second place, Persians, the most necessary of the things which remain for me to do is that I enjoin upon you those things which, as I depart this life, I desire should be accomplished. In the name of the gods that protect this throne, I charge you all, and especially those of the Achæmenidæ who are here present, never to permit the sovereignty to revert again to the Medes.'

*ib.* 66 (C. 10-11): The Persians.....when they saw the king burst into tears, all rent whatever clothes they had and gave themselves up to unstinting lamentations.....But the Persians who were present in nowise believed that the Magians were in control of the government.

*ib.* 67 (C. 11): The.....Magian.....conferred great benefits upon all the subject peoples, so that when he died he was regretted by all the dwellers in Asia, saving only the Persians themselves.

*ib.* 72 (C. 11): (Darius): 'I shall explain, why in this case a lie should be told. Whether we lie or speak the truth, we are striving for the same object. The former tell lies when by doing so they will persuade men to their own profit; the latter speak the truth that by it they may reap some gain and that a man may trust them the more. In this way though our practices

differ, our aims are the same. If men had no apparent prospect of gain, the man who told the truth would be indistinguishable from the liar, and the man who told lies from the truth-teller."

*ib.* 73 (C. 11): (Gobryas): 'We Persians are being ruled by a Magian of Media, a man, forsooth, without ears.'

*ib.* 79 (C. 11): The Persians, when they learned what had been done by the seven, and were informed of the treachery of the Magians, thought fit to do likewise themselves also, and drawing their daggers put to death all Magians that they could discover. If they had not been checked by the coming of night, they would have left not a single Magian alive. The Persians observe this day, more than any other, as a national anniversary, and upon it they celebrate a great feast, which they call the 'Slaughter of the Magians.' On this day the Magians keep within their houses, for no one of them is allowed to appear in the open.

*ib.* 84 (C. 11): Concerning . . . . the sovereignty, they came to the following decision: they would mount their horses in the suburbs of the city, and that man should succeed to the throne whose horse was the first to neigh after the sun rose.

*ib.* 86 (C. 11): When dawn was breaking the six, as they had agreed, were present and mounted. They then rode about the suburbs, and when they approached the place where during the night the mare had been stalled, Darius' horse ran up and whinnied. As soon as the horse did this, lightning flashed in a clear sky, and thunder was heard. These additional signs consummated the election of Darius, occurring, as it seemed, by pre-arrangement. The others jumping from their horses, did obeisance to Darius.

*ib.* 90 (C. 11): From the Cilicians . . . . three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day of the year.

*ib.* IV, 92 (C. 11-12): Darius . . . . arrived at another river, which is called the Artiscus, and flows through the land of the Odrysæ. Having arrived at this river he acted as follows: he showed the army a certain spot and ordered every man to pass in order and place a single stone on this spot which he had pointed out. When the troops had completed the task, he left behind him in this place great mounds of stones, and marched away with his army.

*ib.* V, 106 (C. 12): (Histiaëus): 'Having done this..... according to your pleasure, I swear by the gods that protect your throne that I will not discard the clothes that I shall wear when I enter Ionia, before I have made the great island of Sardinia tributary to you.'

*ib.* VI, 97 (C. 12): While.....they were thus engaged, the Delians also took to flight, and, abandoning Delos, proceeded to Tenos. But when the fleet was approaching Delos, Datis sailed forward and ordered the crews to bring their ships to anchor across the strait at Rhenæa, forbidding them to do so at Delos. When he learned the whereabouts of the Delians he sent a herald with the following message to them: 'Holy men, why have ye departed in flight, having formed an adverse judgment about me? For I myself have enough wisdom, and these are my orders from the king, not to harm the place wherein the two deities were born, neither the land itself nor the inhabitants thereof. Return then to your own, and occupy the island.' This then was the herald's message. And afterwards he piled three hundred talents of frankincense upon the altar, and burnt it.

*ib.* VII, 19 (C. 12): After this, when Xerxes had determined to make the expedition, he saw a third vision in his sleep, which the Magians, when they heard it, interpreted to mean that all men, all over the world, would be his slaves and pay him tribute. The vision was this: Xerxes seemed to be crowned with a wreath of olive, the branches of which covered the whole earth; afterward, however, the wreath that was around his head disappeared. When the Magians and the Persians who were there assembled had thus explained the vision, every man straightway departed to his own province, full of confidence in consequence of what had been said.

*ib.* 31 (C. 12): When....leaving Phrygia he invaded Lydia.....on this march he came upon a plane-tree which, because of its beauty, he presented with golden ornaments and entrusted to one of the immortals to be tended. The day after, he arrived in the city of the Lydians.

*ib.* 35 (C. 13): When.....Xerxes heard this, he was indignant and gave orders that three hundred lashes be administered to the Hellespont and that a pair of fetters be lowered into its waters. And I was told that he even sent branders at the same time to brand the Hellespont. However that may be, orders were given that the men, while flogging the waters, should utter

these arrogant and barbaric words : 'Hateful water, this is the penalty which the master doth inflict upon thee, for that thou didst wrong him, though before having suffered no wrong at his hands. And Xerxes the king shall cross thee, whether thou wilt or not. Verily with justice do all men refuse to sacrifice to thee, turbid and bitter that thou art.' This then was the punishment which he bade them inflict upon the sea, etc.

*ib.* 37 (C. 13) : When he had already set out....., the sun, abandoning his seat in the heavens, vanished, though the day was not overcast and was mostly clear. And instead of day there was night. And Xerxes, when he saw and realised what had happened, took heed of it, and enquired of the Magians concerning the meaning of the sign. And they replied that the god was foretelling to the Greeks the abandonment of their cities ; saying that it was the sun who gave knowledge of the future to the Greeks, but the moon to the Persians.

*ib.* 39 (C. 13) : He ordered those who had been charged with this duty to find the eldest of the sons of Pythius and to cut his body in two ; which done, they must arrange the severed halves, one on the right, the other on the left of the road ; and the army should pass that way.

*ib.* 40 (C. 13) : Next (came) ten of the sacred horses called Nisæan, richly caparisoned. They are called Nisæan for this reason : there is a wide plain in Media, called the Nisæan, and this plain produces these large horses. After these ten horses came the sacred chariot of Zeus, which was drawn by eight white horses, and behind the horses followed on foot the charioteer, holding the reins. For no man ever mounts this seat.

*ib.* 43 (C. 13) : When.....the army had reached the Scamander....., Xerxes went up to Pergamus, the citadel of Priam, having a desire to see it. Having seen it, and learned all the details of its history, he sacrificed a hundred oxen to Athene of Ilium, while the Magians poured libations to the heroes. After they had done this a panic fell upon the army during the night.

*ib.* 53 (C. 14) : (Xerxes) : 'Now.....let us make prayer to the gods of the Persian land, and then cross over.'

*ib.* 54 (C. 14) : On the next day.....they waited for the sun, desiring to see it rise. And they burnt incense of all kinds on the bridges, and strewed the way with branches of myrtle. When the sun rose, Xerxes, pouring a libation, from a golden

bowl, into the sea, prayed to the sun that he might meet with no misfortune that would check his conquest of Europe before he had reached its furthest limits. After this prayer he cast into the Hellespont the bowl and a golden mixing-vessel, and a Persian sword, which they call acinace. I am unable to determine precisely whether he did this as an offering to the sun or whether, repenting of having scourged the Hellespont, he was making atonement by presenting the sea with gifts.

*ib.* 55 (C. 14) : Next (came) the sacred horses and the sacred chariot.

*ib.* 113 (C. 14) : (They reached) the Strymon, where the Magians obtained good omens (for a crossing) by a sacrifice of white horses.

*ib.* 114 (C. 14) : Having practised these enchantments, and many others as well, for the purpose of propitiating the river, they proceeded on their journey by the Nine Ways of the Edonians, crossing the river by the bridges which they found spanning it. And learning that this place was called the Nine Ways, they buried alive just that number of youths and maidens of the inhabitants. It is a Persian custom to bury people alive ; and I learn that even Xerxes' wife Amestris in her old age buried fourteen youths, all sons of prominent men, as an offering on her own behalf to the god who is said to dwell under the earth.

*ib.* 117 (C. 14) : While Xerxes.....was at Acanthus, it happened that Artachæes, an Achæmenid whom he greatly esteemed, and who was in charge of the work of digging the canal, died of a disease.....So Xerxes, considering his loss a great misfortune, caused his body to be carried forth and buried with great ceremony. The whole army was engaged in the task of raising the funeral mound.

*ib.* 180 (C. 14) : The barbarians, following up, straightway captured the ship from Trœzen, which was under the command of Prexinus. They then led the handsomest of its marines up to the prow of the ship, and there slew him.

*ib.* 191 (C. 14-15) : The storm.....lasted three days. The Magians by performing sacrifices and shrieking incantations at the wind, and also by making offerings to Thetis and the Nereids at last brought the storm to an end on the fourth day ; or else in some way it abated of its own accord.



*ib.* 194 (C. 15): When.....he (Sandoces) was already hanging, Darius, on consideration, decided that he had done more good than harm to the royal house. Having come to this decision, and having realised that he had acted with more haste than judgment, he set the man free.

*ib.* VIII, 24 (C. 15): Xerxes, when he had completed his preparations for the disposal of the dead, sent a herald to the fleet. His preparations were as follows: he left where they lay about a thousand out of the twenty thousand of his troops who had fallen at Thermopylae; the rest he buried in trenches dug for the purpose, covering the bodies with leaves and heaping up earth over them, so that the sailors should not see them.

*ib.* 54 (C. 15): Having.....completed the capture of Athens, Xerxes.....called together the Athenian exiles who were with his army, and told them to go up to the Acropolis and perform the sacrifices in their own way. He gave this order either because of some vision seen in a dream, or because he felt a scruple about having burned the temple. The Athenian exiles did as they were bidden. I shall now explain why I have mentioned this incident.

*ib.* 55 (C. 15): There is on this Acropolis a temple of Erechtheus, the so-called earth-born. In the temple there is an olive-tree and a well of salt water, which the Athenians say were placed there by Athene and Poseidon as evidence of their contest for the possession of the country. It happened then that this olive-tree was burned by the barbarians along with the rest of the temple. On the day after the conflagration the Athenians who were under orders from the king to make sacrifice went up to the temple. There they saw that a shoot had sprung out of the stump, to the length of a cubit. They then made this report.

*ib.* 99 (C. 15): The first report that reached Susa, telling that Xerxes was in possession of Athens, caused such rejoicings among the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the roads with myrtle and burned incense and busied themselves with religious offices and with joyful celebrations. But the second report, when it reached them, caused such dismay that they all rent their garments and gave themselves up to shouting and lamentations without ceasing, putting the blame upon Mardonius.

*ib.* 109 (C. 16): (Themistocles): 'It is not we....who have done these things but the gods and heroes, who grudged a single

man the empire over both Europe and Asia, a man, moreover, who was both impious and arrogant. For he molested sacred and secular things without distinction, burning and throwing down the statues of the gods; and even scourged the sea and cast fetters into its waters.'

*ib.* 115 (C. 16): In Macedonia.....he (Xerxes) had also left the sacred chariot of Zeus, when he advanced against Greece; and on his departure he did not take it with him.

*ib.* IX, 24 (C. 16): When.....the cavalry arrived in the camp, the whole army and Mardonius, above all, mourned the loss of Masistius. They cut off their hair and that of their chargers and baggage-animals, and lamented without ceasing.

*ib.* 110 (C. 16): On the king's birthday.....alone does the king wash his head; and he gives presents to the Persians.

CTESIAS.

(wrote after 397 B. C.)

See under Athenæus, Tertullian, Photius and Eustathius.

AGATHOCLES.

(wrote in the same period as Ctesias).

See under Athenæus.

XENOPHON.

(Lived about 430-354 B.C.)

Oeconomicus (ed. Thalheim) IV, 24 (C. 16): (Cyrus): 'You are surprised at this, Lysander? I swear to you by Mithras, that, when I am in good health, I never dine before I have sweated at the performance of some military or agricultural labour, or always at least in the practice of some honourable pursuit.'

Expeditio Cyri (Anabasis) (ed. Gemoll) IV, 5, 35 (C. 16): And on this occasion Xenophon took him (sc. the head man of the village) to his own slaves, and gave him the horse which he had taken some time before to be looked after and reserved for sacrifice; for he learned that the animal was sacred to the sun, and feared that it might die, since it had suffered much as a result of the journey. But he took some of the foals, and gave one of them to each of the company-commanders.



Institutio Cyri (Cyropædeia) (ed. Gemoll) I, 2, 16 (C. 16—17): And even now there remains evidence both of the moderation of their (sc. the Persians') way of life and of the care with which it was elaborated. For to this day the Persians think it disgraceful to be seen to spit or to wipe the nose or to suffer from flatulency, as also to go anywhere openly in order to relieve themselves or for any similar purpose. This could not be the case, unless they observed in addition temperate habits and worked off the moisture by hard work, so that it found some other outlet.

*ib.* 4, 27 f: (C. 17): It is said that when Cyrus departed and they were taking leave of each other, his relations saw him off in the Persian way, by kissing him on the lips. This is still the custom in Persia. It is added that a certain Mede, a man of the highest character and upbringing, who had for a long time been a great admirer of Cyrus' beauty, saw his relations kissing him, and kept in the background the while. But when the others had departed he approached Cyrus and said: "Am I the only one of your relations, Cyrus, whom you do not recognise?" "What," replied Cyrus, "are you also related to me?" "Most certainly," he said. "This then," remarked Cyrus, "was the reason why you used to stare at me. For I think I often notice you doing this." "Yes," answered the Mede, "for though I have always wanted to approach you, by heaven, I have been ashamed to do so." "That was unnecessary," said Cyrus, "considering that you are my kinsman"; and with these words he went up to him and kissed him. 28. And the Mede, after the kiss, asked, "Is this kissing of relations the custom of the Persians also?" "Certainly," he said, "whenever at least they see each other after a long separation, or when they are leaving each other and going anywhere." "It must be quite time," returned the Mede, "for you to kiss me again; for I am departing directly, as you see." So Cyrus kissed him again and saw him off and then departed himself. They had covered no great distance when the Mede rode up again with his horse covered with sweat. Cyrus, when he saw him, said "Why, did you forget something you intended to say?" "No," he replied, "but it is a long time since I last came." And Cyrus said "No, kinsman; quite a short time." "How, short?" said the Mede, "do you not know that even the time when I am blinking seems very long to me, as it prevents me from beholding your beauty." At this Cyrus, who had been weeping, broke into a laugh and told him to depart and be happy, for he would before long be back with them, and then he would be able to behold him, if he wished, without blinking.

*ib.* 6, 1 (C. 17-18): Cyrus.....when he returned home, prayed to the paternal Hearth and to Zeus, the god of his fathers, and to the other gods. He then started out upon his expedition, and his father was among those who saw him off. It is said that when they left the house auspicious omens of thunder and lightning were vouchsafed to him. After the appearance of these signs they set out without seeking any other omens from the flight of birds, feeling that no one had ever failed to recognise the signs sent by the greatest of the gods.

*ib.* 6, 33 (C. 18): In consequence.....of these events, it was ordained—and we observe the rule to this day—that we should wholeheartedly teach our children to speak the truth—just as we train our slaves to do this in their dealings with ourselves—and to be free from deceit and greediness; and that we should punish them, if they acted otherwise; to the end that, trained in these habits, they might grow up to be more well-behaved citizens.

*ib.* II, 1, 1 (C. 18): When an eagle appeared on their (sc. Cyrus' and his father's) right and led the way for them, they prayed to the gods and heroes that possess the land of Persia to send them on their way with their favour and goodwill; and then they crossed the frontier. When they had crossed it, they prayed in turn to the gods who possess the land of Media, that with favour and goodwill they would welcome them.

*ib.* 3, 1 (C. 18): (Cyrus and such guests as from time to time he invited to dinner), after pouring the third libation and praying to the gods, would rise from the banquet and depart to their beds.

*ib.* III, 3, 21 f. (C. 18): Cyrus.....sacrificed first to Zeus the king and next to the other gods, and besought them with kindly favour to go before his army, and to defend and assist and advise it for good. 22. In addition he called upon the heroes who dwelt in and protected the Median land. And when his sacrifice gave good omens and his army had assembled at the frontier, then, having received favourable auguries, he advanced into the enemy's country. As soon as he had passed the frontier, he offered libations to Earth and propitiated with sacrifices the gods and heroes who dwelt in Assyria. Having done these things he again sacrificed to Zeus, the god of his fathers, nor did he neglect the other gods of whom men reminded him.

*ib.* IV, 5, 14 (C. 18): When dawn.....was beginning to break, Cyrus first summoned the Magians and instructed them, in consideration of this great victory, to separate out of the spoil the portion that custom reserved for the gods.

*ib.* V, 2, 17 (C. 19): No Persian who has received the proper education would ever allow his eagerness for food or drink to become conspicuous. He would neither gaze at it nor snatch at it, and would not even think about it to an extent which would interfere with his attention to things which would interest him when not occupied with eating. The confidence begotten by good riding enables men while on horseback to see and hear and talk as may be necessary; and in the same way the Persians consider it their duty to observe moderate and reasonable habits as well at the table as away from it. Any excitement induced by eating or drinking they regard as bestial in the last degree.

*ib.* VII, 1, 1 (C. 19): Cyrus....., having besought Zeus, the god of his fathers, to be his guide and ally, mounted his horse.

*ib.* 1, 3 (C. 19): When (Cyrus).....halted and was looking in the direction which he intended to take, thunder was heard on the right. And Cyrus said: 'O great Zeus, we shall follow thee.'

*ib.* 1, 4 (C. 19): (Cyrus) gave the word.....to look at the standard and follow at equal distances. His standard was a golden eagle, with wings outstretched, mounted upon a long pole. Moreover the Persian kings retain this standard to this day.

*ib.* 3, 5 (C. 19): It is said that his (Abradates') eunuchs and servants are digging a grave for the dead man upon a hill.

*ib.* 14 (C. 19): His wife.....instructed the nurse to envelop her husband and herself, when she died, in the same shroud.

*ib.* 5, 22 (C. 19): (Cyrus): 'We have the god Hephæstus for our ally.'

*ib.* 53 (C. 19): (Artabazus): 'By Mithras, if I had not fought with many men, I would have been unable yesterday to come to you.'

*ib.* 57 (C. 19): When.....Cyrus entered, he first sacrificed to the Hearth, next to Zeus the king, and then to certain other gods, as the Magians directed.

*ib.* VIII, 1, 23f. (C. 19-20): There was inaugurated the Magians' practice of chanting hymns to the gods at dawn every day and of offering sacrifice every day to such gods as the Magians enjoined. In consequence the practice started on that occasion is still observed at the palace of the reigning king.

*ib.* 42 (C. 20): (Cyrus) interested himself in the enforcement of the rule against spitting or blowing the nose in public.

*ib.* 3, 11f. (C. 20): When.....the gates of the palace were thrown open, there were first led out splendid bulls to the number of four, which were to be offered to Zeus and such of the other gods as the Magians directed. For the Persians consider the employment of professionals far more important in matters of religion than in any other sphere. 12. After the bulls, were led out some horses, to be sacrificed to the sun. After these came a white chariot with a yoke of gold. It was sacred to Zeus, and was wreathed with garlands. After this, a white chariot, sacred to the sun, and, like the one in front, covered with garlands. Behind this followed a third chariot, the horses of which were caparisoned in purple. Behind it followed men carrying a fire in a large brazier.

*ib.* 24 (C. 20): When.....they reached the sacred precincts, they offered sacrifice to Zeus and made a holocaust of the bulls. Next they made a holocaust also of the horses, as an offering to the sun. Then they sacrificed to Earth, slaughtering the animals as the Magians directed; and lastly to the heroes who possess the Syrian land.

*ib.* 4, 12 (C. 20): In answer Hystaspes said: 'By Hera, O Cyrus, it pleases me to have asked you this question.'

*ib.* 7, 3 (C. 20): (Cyrus) straightway.....procured victims and sacrificed to Zeus, the god of his fathers, and to the sun and to the other gods, performing the office, as the Persians do, in lofty places, and praying: "O Zeus, god of my fathers, and sun, and all ye gods, accept these victims as a thank-offering for my many successes and for the bodies of the victims, the heavenly signs, the flight of the birds, and the prophetic voices, whereby ye made clear unto me that which I ought to do and that which I ought not to do."

*ib.* 17f. (C. 20-21): (Cyrus): "I charge you, my children, by the gods of our fathers, to honour one another, if in aught you are to please me. For of a truth you do not seem to realise that when my mortal life is finished, I shall exist no more at all.

For never even in life did you see my soul, but by its actions you detected its existence. 18. Have you not yet observed what fears the souls of those who have suffered wrong visit upon the guilty, and what avengers they let loose upon the impious? Do you think that the dead would still receive marks of respect if their souls had no power for aught? 19. For myself, my children, I never believed that the soul lives while it dwells in a mortal body and dies when it departs from it; since I observe that the soul gives life to these same mortal bodies during such time as it dwells in them. 20. Nor am I persuaded that the soul will be without understanding when it is separated from the body that has no understanding. Rather is it probable that the intelligence, when untempered and free, is more full of understanding than ever before. When a man dies every part of him may be seen to depart unto its like, save only his soul, which no man can see either abiding with him or departing from him. 21. Now realise," he said, "that of all things that happen to mankind, sleep is that which most closely resembles death. In sleep the soul of man is felt to be most divine and in sleep, in some degree, it foresees the future. For then, it seems, is it most free. 22. Now if these things are as I think, and the soul departs from the body, do you show reverence to my soul and do the things that I ask you to do; but if otherwise, that is to say, if the soul remains in the body and dies with it, do you avoid all acts and intentions that are impious and unholy, abiding in fear of the eternal gods who are all-powerful and all-seeing, who uphold this order of the universe in its unimpaired and unaging perfection, which for its beauty and grandeur no man can describe."

*ib.* 25 (C. 21): "My.....body, children, when I die, entomb neither in gold nor in silver nor in aught else of the kind, but with all speed restore it to the earth. For what greater happiness can there be than to be thus mingled with the earth that bears and gives nurture to all that is beautiful and good? In my lifetime I have loved my fellow man; and now, methinks, would I rejoice to become part of the benefactor of mankind."

*ib.* 8, 8 (C. 21): They had a rule.....against spitting or blowing the nose. Clearly, they did not adopt it as a means of preserving the moisture that is in the body; they wished rather to strengthen their bodies by means of labour and the sweat which comes of it. Their habit of refraining from spitting or blowing the nose still remains, but that of devoting themselves to hard work is now nowhere practised.

*ib.* 11 (C. 22): It was also their custom, when on a journey to abstain from eating and drinking and from the open perfor-



mance of any of the necessary actions that result from these. The custom is still observed, but the journeys they make to-day are so short that it is no cause for surprise that they should refrain from such actions.

Agesilaus (ed. Thalheim) 5, 4 (C. 22): All would agree that it is human to abstain from that which one does not desire. But was it not an almost superhuman exercise of temperance on the part of Agesilaus, that when Megabates, the son of Spithridates, attempted, according to the Persian custom of kissing those for whom they feel respect, to kiss him, he strove with all his might to repel the kiss, and that though he loved Megabates with all the intensity of affection which a passionate nature can feel for a beautiful object?

HERMODORUS.

(a disciple of Plato)

See under Diogenes of Læerte.

PLATO (PSEUDO-PLATO).

(written after 374 B. C.)

Alcibiades I (ed. Burnet), 121f. (G. 231; C. 22.): When the boys reach the age of seven years they begin to associate with horses and horse-trainers and to go hunting. But when they have become twice seven they are taken in charge by officials known among the Persians as royal tutors, four men in the prime of life who have been selected because they have been judged to be the most excellent of the Persians, that is, the wisest men, the most just men, the most temperate men and the bravest men. The first of these gives instruction in the magic doctrine of Zoroaster, the prophet of Horomazus (to wit, the worship of the gods) as well as in the duties of princes; the most just man teaches the boys to be truthful throughout life, etc.

Anonymous Life of Plato (ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862), p. 7 (G. 231): (Plato) having ascertained that the Pythagoreans derived the principles of their doctrine from Egypt, went there, and after a through training in geometry and priestcraft departed. Going then to Phœnicia he there fell in with some Persians and among them learned the doctrine of Zoroaster.

Axiochus (ed. Burnet) p. 371f.: (Socrates): Listen, also, if you will, to an alternative account, which was given to me by Gobryas, a Magian. He said that, at the period of Xerxes' expedition, his grandfather, who bore the same name, was sent to Delos to keep inviolate the Island in which the two deities were born; and that he there learned, from certain tablets of

bronze, which Opis and the Fardarter\* had brought from the Hyperboreans, that after the dissolution of the body the soul goes to the obscure region near the subterranean dwelling which includes a palace of Pluto not inferior to the court of Zeus. This view is based on the theory that the earth occupies the central point of the universe, and that the firmament is spherical in shape, the celestial gods having obtained one hemisphere as their portion, and the chthonic gods the other, the former being brothers, the latter cousins.

The gateway on the road leading to Pluto's palace is fortified with iron bolts and bars. A man who has opened these is faced by a river, Acheron, and after it by another, Cocytus; these he must cross and then be led to Minos and Rhadamanthus in a plain which is called the plain of truth. They sit there as judges and ask every newcomer what life he has lived and what habits have become ingrained in his body. And it is impossible to give a false reply.

All who in life were inspired by a good *dæmon* are settled in the region of the pious, where the seasons teem with growing crops of all kinds, and springs of pure water flow, where are great tracts of meadows in the full spring-bloom of variegated flowers, where philosophers discuss and where poets perform their plays, where the chorus dances round the altar and music holds her festivals. Here they sing as they quaff their cups, and feast on repasts self-furnished; here is pleasure undefiled and life is sweet. No severity of heat or cold comes thither; but a temperate atmosphere is shed abroad, mingled with soft beams of sunlight. In this realm a certain precedence is accorded to the initiated; and they perform there their sacred rites. Surely then you being a parent of the gods are first in this honour. And legend says that Heracles and Dionysus and their companions had been initiated on earth for their journey down to Hades and that it was Eleusis which stirred their courage to undertake it.

On the other hand all whose lief was passed in wickedness are led by the Erinyes through Tartarus to darkness and chaos, where are the region of the impious, the futile pitchers of the Danaïdes, thirsty Tantalus, the vitals of Tityus, which are being eternally eaten and eternally renewed, and the stone fore ver rolled by Sisyphus that reaches its goal only to renew his labours. There, licked by beasts and perpetually burned by the torches of the goddesses of Vengeance and suffering every indignity, they are consumed by everlasting punishments. This then is the account I heard from Gobrayas.

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\* Reading *Ἐμάρπυος*.



## EUDOXUS.

(flourished about 368/5 B. C.)

See under Pliny and Diogenes of Lærtæ.

## HERACLIDES OF CUMÆ.

(flourished about 340 B. C.)

Quoted in Athenæus. *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XII, 8, 514 (C. 23): According to the account given by Heraclides of Cumæ in the first book of his *Persian History*....., the king (of Persia)\* through the court of the Apple-Bearers. These were a division of the royal body guard, the end of whose spears was ornamented with golden apples. The Apple-Bearers were all native Persians, and were a thousand in number, being selected according to merit from the ten thousand Persians who bore the title of 'Immortals.' The king walked through this court upon five smooth carpets from Sardis, which were never trodden by any one but himself. When he reached the end of the court, he would ascend his chariot, or, sometimes, mount a horse. For the king was never seen on foot outside the palace.

*ib.* IV, 25, 145 (C. 23): Heraclides of Cumæ, the historian of Persia, relates, in the second volume of the work entitled 'Preparations,' that.....of the king's guests some dine outside the royal apartments, and are visible to any onlooker. The others dine inside with the king. And yet even these do not dine at the same table with him. There are, in fact, two halls, leading the one out of the other; and the king dines in one of these and his guests in the other. The king can see the guests through the curtain which falls across the doorway, but he is invisible to them. It sometimes happens, however, on the occasion of a feast, that they all dine together, the king included, in a single hall, to wit, the great hall. When the king drinks, as he does often, he has about a dozen companions. And on the occasion of a dinner, the king being by himself and the guests apart, these companions of the wine-cup are summoned by one of the Eunuchs. When they enter the royal dining-room, they drink with the king, but they do not take the same wine, and while the king reclines on a couch with golden legs, his companions sit on the floor. When they have become thoroughly intoxicated, they depart. For the most part, however, the king both breakfasts and dines alone; though sometimes his queen and some of his sons take these meals with him.

See also under Plutarch.

\* MS. defective.

## DINO.

(wrote after 340 B.C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XIV, 33, 633 (C. 24): This.....custom was preserved also among the barbarians, according to Dino in his *History of Persia*. For example, the minstrels with their incantations predicted the bravery of Cyrus the first and the war with Astyages. For Dino says: "When Cyrus asked permission to go to Persia.... and departed (.....\*) And so, while Astyages was feasting with his friends, a man named Angares, the most renowned of the minstrels, was summoned. He sang the usual ballads and when he had finished said that a great beast fiercer than a wild boar had been let loose in the marsh; and that if it became master of its neighbourhood, it would before long be more than a match for many enemies. When Astyages asked "What kind of beast?" he said "Cyrus the Persian." Astyages, therefore, realising the shrewdness of this guess, and being summoned.....(\*) did not assist him.

*ib.* 67, 652 (C. 24): Dino says in his *History of Persia*: 'At the king's table were served the first fruits of all the foods produced in the Persian Empire. Xerxes held that the kings of Persia should abjure any food or drink that came from foreign lands. And this, in consequence, later became the custom.'

See also under Cicero, Plutarch, Clement of Alexandria, Diogenes of Lærtē, and the scholia on the *Theriaca* of Nicander.

## ARISTOTLE.

(lived 384-322)

*Metaphysics* (ed. Christ) XIV, 4, 1091b. (C. 24): Pherecydes and others regard the first source of creation as the highest principle. They are followed by the Magians and also by some later philosophers, such as Empedocles and Anaxagoras, who ascribed to love and to mind, respectively, the original creative impulse.

*Nicomachean Ethics* (rec. Susemihl, Apelt.) V, 10 (7, 2) 1134b (C. 24): Fire burns both here and among the Persians.

*ib.* IX, 12 (10, 4) 1160b (C. 24): In Persia the authority of the father is that of a despot; for fathers treat their sons as slaves.

See also under Pliny and Diogenes of Lærtē.

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\* MS. defective.

## THEOPOMPUS.

(born 376 B.C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) VI, 60, 252 (C. 25): Theopompus.....in the eighteenth book of his History says of Nicostratus of Argos that he flattered the King of Persia, and adds: 'We cannot avoid forming a poor opinion of Nicostratus of Argos, who, in spite of having become the leader of the Argive democracy, and notwithstanding his noble birth and the wealth and other abundant resources which he had inherited from his ancestors, outdid in flattery and self-abasement all who took part not only in that expedition, but in all previous expeditionary forces as well. In the first place he was so eager to be held in honour by the barbarians that he took his son to the Persian court, in the attempt thereby to increase the favour and confidence which he enjoyed. An examination of the records will show no other man has ever done this. Further, every day, when about to dine, he had another table arranged apart and loaded with food and all kinds of provisions, for the service, as he said, of the divine spirit of the king. He heard that this was the practice also of Persian courtiers, and he hoped as a result of this flattery to receive the richer presents from the king. For his desire to enrich himself knew no distinction of methods and in order to gain money he sacrificed his dignity to an extent which has probably never been equalled.'

See also under Plutarch, Diogenes of Laerte, Athenæus, and Aeneas of Gaza.

## CHARES OF MYTILENE.

(was a companion of Alexander)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XIII, 35, 575 (C. 25): Charles of Mytilene writes.....as follows in the tenth book of his History of Alexander's Exploits: 'Zariades was the younger brother of Hystaspes. The natives say that they were the children of Aphrodite and Adonis. Hystaspes became ruler of Media and the lower country, Zariades of the country north of the Caspian Gates as far as the Tanais, etc.'

## ARISTOXENUS.

(a disciple of Aristotle)

See under Hippolytus.

## PHANIAS.

(a disciple of Aristotle)

See under Pseudo-Plutarch.

## EUDEMUS OF RHODES.

(was at Athens before 306 B.C.)

See under Diogenes of Lærtē and Damascius.

## DURIS.

(wrote after 281 B. C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel): X, 45, 434 (C. 26): Duris, in the seventh book of his *History*, writes as follows concerning him (*i.e.*, the King of Persia): "At the festival of Mithras alone of all the festivals celebrated by the Persians, the king gets drunk and the Persians dance. None of the other Asiatic peoples do so, however; all abstain from dancing on this day. The explanation is that the Persians learn to dance just as they learn to ride, and they consider the movements practised in that exercise to constitute a training conducive in some degree to bodily strength."

See also under Eustathius.

## HECATEUS OF TEOS.

(lived at the beginning of the age of the Ptolemies)

See under Diogenes of Lærtē.

## PHŒNIX.

(wrote 292 - 289 B.C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XII, 40, 530 (C. 26): The poet Phœnix of Colophon says of Ninus in the first book of his *Iambics*: 'There was, I hear, a certain Ninus, an Assyrian, whose wealth would have filled the sea.... He did not kindle the sacred flame with the Magians, as the custom is, by touching the god with a wand.'

## EVANDER.

(lived near the end of the third cent. B.C.)

See under Zenobius.

## HERMIPPUS.

(wrote about 200 B.C.)

See under Pliny and Diogenes of Lærtē.

## SOTIO.

(wrote about 200-150 B.C.)

See under Diogenes of Lærtē.

## AGATHARCIDAS.

(wrote about 130 B.C.)

See under Pseudo-Plutarch.

## POLYBIUS.

(lived about 201-120 B.C.)

History (ed. Buettner-Wolst) X, 27, 12 (C. 27): When Antiochus was (at Ecbatana) the pillars surrounding the temple of Fame, as it was called, were still gilded, while tiles of silver had been arranged in larger numbers upon the roof, and a few golden bricks, and still more silver bricks, were still in position.

## CORNELIUS ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR.

(lived about first century B. C.)

In Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, I, 15 and Cyril of Alexandria, *Against Julian*, IV, p. 133 (G. 233-234): Alexander in his treatise on Pythagorean symbols relates that Pythagoras studied under Nazaratius the Assyrian (certain authorities hold that this man was Ezekiel, but one cannot prove it now), and is ready to believe that he received instruction from Galatians (Gauls) and Brahmans as well.

Alexander, surnamed Polyhistor, in his treatise on Pythagorean symbols relates that Pythagoras was a disciple of Zaras who was an Assyrian by nationality.

See under Diogenes of Lærtē, Cyril of Alexandria, and Georgius Syncellus.



## CATULLUS.

(lived 84-54 B. C.)

Poems (ed. B. Schmidt) 90 (C. 27): Let there be born a Magian, issue of the unholy union of Gellius and his mother, and let him learn the ways of Persian augury. For if the impious religion of Persia is true, it is fitting that the Magian be born of mother and son, to the end that he may adore the gods with acceptable hymns and melt the rich fat in the flame, and so find favour in their sight.

## DIODORUS SICULUS.

(wrote 60-30 B.C.)

Historical Library (ed. Vogel) 1, 44, 3 (C. 27): (Some..... tell the tale) that the Persians, after their King Cambyses subdued the Egyptians, ruled that people for a hundred and thirty-five years. This period includes the times when the Egyptians were in revolt, to which they were driven by the brutality of Persian rule and the insults that were offered to their national gods.

*ib.* 46, 4 (C. 28): It is recorded.....that the gold and silver and the costly works in wood and ivory were pillaged by the Persians at the time that Cambyses burned the Egyptian temples.

*ib.* 94, 2 (G. 232; C. 28): Tradition says that this kind of device existed among several other nations also and was responsible for many benefits enjoyed by those who believed in it. It is said that among the Arians, for example, Zathraustes claimed he had received the laws from the Good Dæmon; that among the people who are known as Getæ and who believe in immortality, Zalmoxis maintained in like manner that the laws had been given him by the goddess of the public hearth, etc.

*ib.* 95, 4f. (C. 28): It is said that Darius, the father of Xerxes, was the sixth to interest himself in the laws of the Egyptians. He had conceived an aversion to the lawless methods of Cambyses, his predecessor on the throne, in dealing with the temples of the country, and desired to live a just and pious life. 5. He associated with the Egyptian priests and learned something of their theology and the contents of their sacred books.....For this reason he was held in such honour that the Egyptians addressed him as a god during his lifetime, a mark of respect accorded to no other monarch. After his death he received honours equal to those given to the kings of old time whose rule in Egypt had been most just.

*ib.* II, 6, 1-2 (G. 232-233): So Ninus although he had set out against Bactriana in such strength was compelled by reason of the ruggedness of the district and the narrowness of the passes to lead his forces through by divisions. Now Bactriana while possessing many large cities had one that was especially famous and in which the royal palace was situated; this was called Bactra and far surpassed all the others in size and in the strength of its citadel. During his reign Oxyartes\* had conscripted all the men of military age, thus mobilizing a force of four hundred thousand. Taking this army, then, and advancing to meet the enemy near the passes, he permitted only a part of Ninus's forces to emerge, and, when it seemed to him that enough of the foe had come out into the open country, he drew up his own force in battle formation.

After a hard struggle the Bactrians routed the Assyrians and pursued them as far as the mountains that lay close behind, killing one hundred thousand foemen. Subsequently, however, when the whole invading force came out of the pass, the Bactrians were overpowered by sheer numbers and retreated to their respective cities, each contingent purposing to defend its own homeland.

Now Ninus easily subjugated all the other cities, but because of its great strength and its preparations for defence was unable to take Bactra by storm. The siege being long protracted the husband of Semiramis was taken with a passionate desire for his wife, and, though campaigning with the king, sent for her to come to him. Richly endowed as she was with intelligence, courage and all the other qualities that make for distinction, she seized the opportunity to display her own superior powers. So first of all, since she was about to undertake a journey of many days, she took the trouble of making herself a robe through which it was impossible for one to recognize the wearer as a man or a woman. This garment being easily adjusted and youthful in style was useful to her in protecting her complexion as she journeyed amid the heat as well as in permitting her to do freely whatever she wished to do. Altogether so charming was it that, later on, the Medes, when they had become rulers of Asia, and, after them the Persians also, wore robes modelled after the robe of Semiramis.

Coming to Bactriana and observing the conditions of the siege, Semiramis perceived that attacks were being made on the level

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\*The manuscripts are not in agreement as to this name; it is doubtful if it refers to Zoroaster.

ground and in areas where approach was easy, but that no one was assailing the citadel because of its great strength; she saw, too, that the occupants of the citadel had deserted their posts there and had gone to the assistance of the men defending the walls below. Accordingly, she chose those of the soldiers who were used to scaling rocky heights, and by ascending the eminence by way of a difficult defile, she seized a part of the stronghold and signaled the news to those who were besieging the wall on the level ground beneath them. The defenders, terrified at the capture of the height, left the walls and gave up all hope of successful resistance.

*ib.* V, 63, 1f. (C. 28): In.....later times the cult of Hemithea increased to such an extent that.....the Persians, though they were rulers of Asia and were in the habit of pillaging all the temples of Greece, made a single exception in favour of the temple of this goddess.....It is related that the greatly increased popularity of this cult was due to her general beneficence to mankind: she appeared in person to the sick when they were sleeping and tended them; while many, who were in the grip of diseases from which recovery was despaired of, were restored to health; in addition she rescued from the suffering and danger of travail those women for whom childbirth was a special trial.

*ib.* 77, 3f. (C. 28-9): Now the Cretans tell the following tales concerning the gods who are said to have been born on the island.....: 6. They say that Apollo for a very long time appeared at Delos and in Lycia and at Delphi, and Artemis in Ephesus and the Pontus, and also in Persia and Crete. 7. And for this reason the former bears the titles of Delian and Lycian and Pythian, derived either from the places themselves or from actions performed at each; and similarly Artemis is called Ephesian and Cretan, and in addition Tauropolan and Persian, and this in spite of the fact that both deities were born in Crete. 8. This goddess is held in especial honour among the Persians also. The barbarians worship her with mystic rites, which are performed in other countries to this day in honour of 'Persian Artemis.'

*ib.* (ed. Dindorf) XVII, 114 (C. 29): Alexander gave orders that all the inhabitants of Asia should carefully extinguish the fire that the Persians call sacred, until he had completed the obsequies (sc. of Hephæstion). This used to be the custom of the Persians on the occasion of the death of their kings.

## CICERO.

(wrote his philosophical works 54-44 B. C.)

*De Republica* (ed. Mueller) III, 9, 14 (C. 29): Anyone who could "ride in the chariot drawn by winged serpents", of which Pacuvius speaks, and from it look down upon and survey many different peoples and cities, would see in Greece....., as among ourselves, magnificent temples which have been dedicated to images of the gods in human shape, images which the Persians thought irreligious. This is said to have been the only reason for Xerxes' order that the temples of Athens should be consigned to the flames; he considered it wrong to keep shut up within walls the gods whose dwelling-place was this whole world.

*De Legibus* (ed. Mueller) II, 10, 26 (C. 29): I consider that there should be temples in cities, and do not agree with the Persian Magians, who are said to have prompted Xerxes to burn the temples of Greece on the ground that they shut up within walls the gods, to whom everything should be open and free, and whose temple and home was the whole world that we know.

*De Natura Deorum* (ed. Plasberg) I, 41, 115 (C. 29): 'Epicurus wrote also books on holiness and piety in relation to the gods. But what is his attitude in these works: such that you would think you were listening to chief pontiffs like Tiberius Coruncanius or Publius Scævola, instead of to the man who thoroughly undermined religion and overturned the temples and altars of the immortal gods not with his hands, as Xerxes did, but with his philosophy.

*Disputationes Tusculanæ* (ed. Pohlenz) I, 45, 108 (C. 29-30): The Egyptians embalm their dead and keep them in their homes; the Persians, in addition to embalming them, cover them with wax, with the object of preserving their bodies as long as possible. It is the custom of the Magians not to bury the bodies of their dead until they have been first mangled by wild beasts.

*De Divinatione* (ed. Mueller) I, 23, 46 (C. 30): Why should I repeat from Dino's Persian History the explanation of a dream which the Magians gave to the famous ruler Cyrus? He says that Cyrus, when asleep, saw the sun at his feet, and three times tried to reach it with his hands, but without success, since the sun glided away and escaped; and the Magians told him that his

three-times repeated attempt to reach the sun portended that he would reign for thirty years. And so it happened: for he lived to his seventieth year, after having ascended the throne at the age of forty.

*ib.* 41, 90f. (C. 30): That method of divination is practised also by foreign peoples; for even.....in Persia the Magians, who assemble in a temple for meditation and discussion, practise augury and divination.....Nor can any man ascend the throne of Persia, unless he has first studied the teaching and the doctrines of the Magians.

NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

(died 45 B. C.)

De Diis (quoted by Servius Danielis on Vergil's *Bucolics* IV, 10) IV (ed. Swoboda) (C. 30): The Magians predict the reign of Apollo, by which we must consider whether they do not mean heat, or a general conflagration, as it should perhaps rather be called.

NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS.

(lived about 64-4 B. C.)

Essay on Virtues and Vices (ed. Buettner-Wolst) 28 (67) (C. 30): Cyrus the king of Persia had an especially thorough grasp of philosophy, having received instruction in their doctrines from the Magians. He had been taught to observe truth and justice in accordance with certain ancestral customs which obtain among the Persian nobility. It was Cyrus, moreover, who sent for the Sybil from Ephesus, the prophetess who was called Herophile.

*ib.* 29 (68) (C 30-31): After Cræsus had prayed a dark mass of clouds suddenly gathered from all quarters, and thunder and lightning occurred continuously. In addition, so great a fall of rain burst upon them, that not only were the flames of the pyre extinguished, but the men could scarcely endure it. However, they quickly spread a purple coverlet over Cræsus. But in the confusion caused as well by the darkness and the storm as by the lightning, and when they were trampled upon by the horses, which were maddened by the roar of the tempest, they conceived superstitious fears and bethought themselves of the responses of the Sibyl and the oracles of Zoroaster..... In the case of Zoroaster at least, the Persians, in consequence



of this incident, interpreted him to forbid the cremation of the dead and the pollution of fire in any other manner, and on this occasion ratified this custom, which had already prevailed over a long period.

Customs of Different Peoples (quoted by Stobaeus, Anthology (ed. Hense) IV, 2, 25) (C. 31): The Persians do not speak of any act which they are forbidden to do. If a man kills his father, they consider him to have been a supposititious child ..... They receive rewards from the king for having large families. In their country children learn truth-telling as a subject of study.

STRABO.

(lived 63 B. C.—19 A. D.)

Geography (rec. Meineke) XI, 8, 4, 512 (C. 31): The Persian generals who were in this region at that time made a night attack upon them (sc. the Sacæ) while they were celebrating a feast with the booty, and utterly annihilated them. And in the plain they piled earth upon a certain rock so as to give it the shape of a mound, and thereon built a wall and founded sanctuaries of Anaitis and of the gods, Omanes and Anadates, dæmons of the Persians, who were worshipped at the same altar. Here they instituted a yearly religious festival, called the Sacæa, which is still kept up by the inhabitants of Zela. For this is the name of the place, which is for the most part a city of temple-servitors. Pompey added to it a considerable tract of land, the inhabitants of which he brought within the wall, thus constituting one of the cities which he founded after the defeat of Mithridates.

*ib.* 5, 512 (C. 31-32): Such is the account of the Sacæ given by some of the authorities. Others write as follows: Cyrus made an expedition against the Sacæ and was defeated in battle. In his flight from the field he encamped at the place where he had left his supplies, which included immense stocks of all kinds, and particularly of wine. Here he gave his army a short rest, after which he proceeded on his way in the evening, leaving the tents full, as though to indicate a rout. When he had covered what seemed a sufficient distance he encamped. The Sacæ, in full pursuit, came to his former camp, and finding it empty of men, but full of all the requisites for enjoyment, indulged themselves without restraint. Cyrus, returning on his tracks, caught them when they were already mad with drink. Some were slaughtered as they lay asleep in drunken stupor on the

ground. Others, who were dancing and revelling, offered a naked target to their enemy's weapons. They were destroyed almost to a man. Cyrus, regarding this success as a gift of heaven, dedicated the day to the national goddess under the name of Sacæa. The festival of the Sacæa is observed wherever there is a sanctuary of this goddess. It is a revel which lasts all day and continues through the night. The votaries are dressed in the Scythian fashion and while in their cups dally with each other and with the women who are drinking with them.

*ib.* 11, 3, 517 (C. 32): No very favourable account of this people (sc. the Bactrians) is given by the followers of Onesicritus: They fling to the dogs all who are worn out with age or disease, and these animals, which in the native tongue are called 'buriers,' are kept for this very purpose. Further, the environs of the metropolis of Bactria are well-kept and clean, while most of the city itself is littered with human bones. Alexander put an end to this practice. Much the same is their account of the Caspians, who shut up their parents and starved them to death, when they had reached the age of seventy years. This, though a practice worthy of Scythians, is similar to the custom of the Ceans, and less objectionable than that of the Bactrians which is a great deal more barbarous. Indeed, it was really difficult, at the time when Alexander discovered the customs of the country to be of this nature, to imagine the probable nature of their customs during the period of the first Persian and of even earlier hegemonies.

*ib.* 14, 9, 530 (C. 32): The Nisæan horses, which were used by the kings of Persia, are reared here also (sc. in Armenia), and the satrap of Armenia used every year to send twenty-thousand foals to the Mithracini.

*ib.* 16, 532 (C. 33): All the Persian cults have been held in honour by the Medes and Armenians, the latter of whom are especially devoted to that of Anaitis, to whom they have established sanctuaries in Acilicene as well as in other provinces. In these centres of the cult they dedicate slaves, both male and female, to the service of the goddess. In this there is nothing surprising; but the most prominent people in the land actually devote their virgin daughters to the same service. It is customary to give these girls in marriage after they have prostituted their bodies for a long period in the precincts of the goddess, and no one disdains to take them to wife.

*ib.* XII, 3, 37, 559 (C. 33): The province . . . . of ZELITIS contains the town of Zela, in which is the temple of Anaitis, this

deity being worshipped by the Armenians also. The worship is celebrated with especial solemnity here, and here also all the inhabitants of Pontus make their oaths upon matters of the greatest importance. In former times the number of the servitors and the privileges of the priests were such as have already been described; but at the present day everything is under the jurisdiction of the Pythodoris. Various people contributed to the decline of the temple, both by decreasing the numbers of its servitors and by curtailing its general prosperity..... For long ago the kings administered Zela not as a city but as a temple of the gods of Persia, and the priest had entire charge of it. It was inhabited by the servitors and the priest, who was extremely wealthy; while his numerous assistants had the use of the sacred land in the vicinity, which belonged to the priest.

*ib.* XV, 3, 1, 727 (C. 33): The tribes.....which inhabit this country (sc. Persia) are the so-called Patischoreis, the Achæmenidæ, and Magians. Now the last-mentioned aim at austere living of some kind; the Cyrti and Mardoi live by brigandage; and other tribes by agriculture.

*ib.* 6, 729 (C. 33): There is.....the river Cyrus, which flows past Pasargadæ and through what is called 'hollow Persia.' The king, when he changed his name from Agradates, adopted the name of this river.

*ib.* XV, 3, 7, 730 (C. 33-34): Next he (Alexander) came to Pasargadæ.....Here he saw the tomb of Cyrus. This was situated in a park, where it was completely hidden in the middle of a dense growth of trees. It was in the form of a tower of moderate size, the lower part of which was solid while the upper was roofed. It was surrounded by an enclosure to which there was an extremely narrow entrance. Through this Aristobulos says that, by the king's order, he passed inside and paid honour to the tomb. He goes on to say that he saw there a golden bed, a table covered with goblets, a bath of gold, an abundance of raiment, and splendid mosaics; that all these things he saw on his first visit, but that later the tomb was robbed of most of its contents; the bath, however, and the bed had only been broken, while the body had been moved—a fact which proved that it was not the satrap who had been responsible for the outrage, but some party of foragers, who had left behind them what they could not easily carry away. The robbery had been committed in spite of the fact that a body of Magians had been on guard round about.....Such is the account given by Aristobulos.....Onesicritus, on the other hand, relates

that the tower was of ten stories, and that the body of Cyrus lay in the highest of these.

*ib.* 8, 730 (C. 34): Mention is also made by Onesicritus and in the inscription upon the tomb of Darius.....Aristus of Salamis, however, who is a much later authority, says that the tower was large and of two stories, that it was built by successive Persian kings, and that a permanent watch was kept over the tomb.....Cyrus honoured Pasargadæ as the site of his final victory over Astyages the Mede, after which he had transferred to himself the empire over Asia and had founded a city and built a palace to commemorate his victory.

*ib.* 13, 732 (C 34): Numerous authorities have described the customs of the Persians, which are the same as those of the Medes and many other peoples. I must myself however give an account of those that are important. The Persians then do not set up statues and altars, but sacrifice in a high place, considering the heaven to be Zeus. They hold in honour also the sun, which they call Mithres, and also the moon, Aphrodite, fire, earth, winds, and water. They sacrifice in an open space, after prayer, having crowned the victim with a garland and placed it besides them. When the Magian who superintends the rite has divided\* the flesh, they depart each with his own share, having apportioned no part of it to the gods. They say that the god needs the soul of the victim, but nothing else. Still, according to some, they do place a small portion of the caul upon the fire.

*ib.* 14, 732 (C 34-35): Their methods of sacrificing to fire and to water are different. For fire, they use dry logs, without the bark, and cover them with fat. Then they ignite it from below, pouring olive-oil over it, and not blowing, but fanning it. They put to death any one who has blown it, or has put a dead body or dung upon fire. For water, they go to a lake, river, or spring, and dig a hole, and sacrifice the victim in it, taking care not to let any blood get into the water near by; for this, they think, would pollute it. Then, disposing the flesh upon branches of myrtle or bay, the Magians touch it with slender rods and chant an incantation, pouring a libation of olive-oil mixed with milk and honey not into fire or water, but on the ground. They perform the incantations for a long time, holding a bundle of slender rods of tamarisk.

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\* reading *μερίσζυρος*.

*ib.* 15, 733 (C 35): In Cappadocia, where the order of the Magians is strong (they are called fire-worshippers) and holy places of the Persian gods are numerous, they do not even slay the victim with a knife, but strike it with a log, as though with a pestle. There are also fire-temples, a kind of enclosure of considerable extent. In the middle of each is an altar, upon which is a large heap of ashes, and upon it the Magians keep up a fire that is never put out. They enter the enclosure every day, and chant an incantation for almost an hour before the fire, holding the bundle of rods, and wearing a felt head-dress both sides of which come down until the cheek-pieces cover the lips. The same customs are observed in the worship of Anaitis and of Omanes. There are enclosures of these deities also, and a wooden image of Omanes is carried in procession. These things I have seen myself, but the ones first mentioned and those below are described in the histories.

*ib.* 16, 733 (C. 35): For the Persians will not make water into a river; they will not wash any part of their bodies in it, nor bathe in it, nor cast into it a dead body or any other thing that they consider polluted. And before making a sacrifice to any god they pray to Fire first.

*ib.* 17, 733 (C. 35): They marry many wives and keep at the same time a number of concubines, with the object of having as many children as possible. And the kings give prizes every year for large families. The children that are being reared are kept out of sight of their parents until they have reached the age of four. Marriages are consummated at the beginning of the spring equinox....The bridegroom comes to the bridal-chamber having eaten that day nothing but an apple or the marrow of a camel.

*ib.* 18, 733 f. (C. 36): Between the ages of five and twenty-four they receive instruction in archery, hurling the javelin, riding, and telling the truth. The children are decked out in gold, the Persians holding in honour anything that has the appearance of fire, for which reason they will not allow gold, just as, because they honour it, they will not allow fire, to come into contact with a dead body.

*ib.* 20, 734 f. (C. 36): They deliberate over wine upon subjects of great importance, and consider decisions reached in this way to be more reliable than the counsels of sobriety. When they meet people on a journey they advance and kiss them if they are known to them, and of equal standing; but if they are



of more humble station, they thrust the chin forward and receive their kiss upon it. Men of still lower station merely do them obeisance. They bury the dead after having first given their bodies a coating of wax. They do not however bury the Magians, but leave their bodies to be devoured by the birds. Among these marriage even with one's mother is sanctioned by ancestral custom. Such then are their customs.

*ib.* XVI, 1, 4, 738 (C. 36) : In the neighbourhood of Arbela ... is the city of Demetrias. Here is the spring of naphtha, the fires, and the temple of Anaia (Anaitis ?).

*ib.* 2, 39, 762 (C. 36) : The seers used to be held in such honour as to be considered suitable tenants of a throne, on the ground that both in life and after death they convey to mankind the commands and corrections of the gods. Such was Amphiaraüs... while among the Persians a similar position is occupied by the Magians, the necromancers and also by the so-called dish- and water-diviners.

*ib.* XVII, 1, 27, 805 (C. 36) : At the present day... the city (sc. of the Sun) is entirely deserted. It contains the ancient temple which was built and adorned in the Egyptian style, and which bears many traces of the mad sacrilege of Cambyses, who did great damage to the sacred objects, some by fire, others with tools, mutilating and scorching them, etc.

#### ISIDORE OF CHARAX.

(lived in the time of Strabo)

Mansiones Parthicae (Geographi Graeci Minores, rec. Müller I) 6 (C. 36) : Next comes upper Media, at a distance of seventy-six parasangs. The first city is Concoabar, where there is a temple of Artemis, at a distance of six parasangs... the next is Batana, the capital of Media ; here the treasure is kept. The city contains also a temple dedicated to Anaitis, where they always sacrifice : distance, twenty-four parasangs.

#### VITRUVIUS.

(wrote 25 - 23 B. C.)

De Architectura (ed. Krohn) VIII, præf. 1 (C. 37) : Of the seven wise men, Thales asserted that the first principle of all things was water, Heraclitus fire, and the priests of the Magians water and fire.

## OVID.

(lived 43 B. C.—17 A. D.)

Fasti (ed. Peter) I, 385 f. (C. 37): with a horse the Persians propitiate Hyperion who is girt with rays, lest a slow-moving victim be offered to the swift god.

## PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.

(lived about 20 B. C.—40 A. D.)

De Specialibus Legibus (ed. Cohn) III (3) 13, (C. 37): The Persian grandees take their own mothers in marriage, and consider sons born of them to be the most noble of all, and, if report is true, to be eligible for the office of sovereign.

*ib.* (18), 100 (C. 37): The true . . . magic is a science of divination which reveals the workings of nature with more certainty than other methods. It is held in great honour and esteem, and is studied, not merely by men in a private station, but also by kings and the greatest of kings, especially by the kings of Persia, as a subject of such importance, that, as we hear, no man can ascend the throne in their country, unless he has first been received into the order of the Magians.

(Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit) (ed. Cohn and Reiter) (11), 74 (C. 37): In . . . foreign countries, which have been the home of the finest things in literature and action, there are very large orders of noble and virtuous men. Among the Persians there is the order of the Magians, who investigate undisturbed the workings of nature in the attempt to acquire a full knowledge of the truth, and by clearly-stated rules order both themselves and others in the direction of the divine virtues. Among the Indians there are the gymnosophists, etc.

## VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

(wrote 28-32 A. D.)

Facta et Dicta Memorabilia (ed. Kemp) II, 6, 16 (C. 38): There is every reason to believe that it was the custom in Persia for parents not to see their children until they had completed their seventh year; the object being to enable them to bear more easily the loss of any children in their infancy.

## VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

(wrote under Tiberius)

Historia Romana II, 24, 3 ; Sulla, after completing the settlement of the transmarine regions, was visited by envoys from the Parthians, being the first Roman to receive ambassadors from this people. Certain Magians among them predicted, from marks upon his body, that his life and fame would be those of a god. He then sailed back to Italy, etc.

## CURTIUS RUFUS.

(wrote under Claudius)

History of Alexander (ed. Hedicke) III, 3 (7), 8 ff. (C. 38) : It is recorded that the Persians, according to their national custom, do not start upon a journey before sunrise. Accordingly when the sun was already shining the signal was given by a trumpet-blast from the king's tent ; and above the tent, visible to all, shone a representation of the sun, enclosed in crystal . . . Now the order of march was as follows. 9. The Fire, which the Persians called sacred and eternal, was carried in front upon a silver altar, followed immediately by Magians singing a national hymn. 10. Behind the Magians were three hundred and sixty-five young men, clad in purple cloaks, and equalling in number the days of the year, since the Persians also divide the year into this number of days. 11. Behind them came the chariot dedicated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses ; and next a horse of remarkable size, which they called the horse of the Sun. The riders of these horses carried golden rods and wore white uniforms.

*ib.* 3, (7), 16 (C. 38) : Each side of the chariot was adorned with representations of the gods, moulded in gold and silver ; the yoke was conspicuous for the jewels which glistened upon it, while from it rose, to a cubit's height, two statuettes of ancestors, representing Ninus and Belus respectively. Between these they had consecrated a golden eagle with wings outstretched.

*ib.* 12, (31), 13 f. (C. 38-39) : On the following day Alexander diligently buried the soldiers whose bodies had been discovered, and gave orders that the same honour should be paid to the bodies of the Persian nobility. He also allowed the mother of Darius to bury in accordance with the national usage as many as

she wished. 14. She gave orders for the burial, with a simplicity appropriate to their recent misfortune, of a few who were nearly related to her; she considered that the elaborate ceremonial, with which the Persians paid the last honours, would be invidious at a time when the victors were cremating their dead without any ostentation.

*ib.* IV, 10. 1. They (the Egyptian priests) asserted that the sun belonged to the Greeks, the moon to the Persians; whenever the latter was eclipsed it boded destruction and slaughter for those peoples.

*ib.* 13, (48), 12 (C. 39): He (Darius), with his generals and the royal family, went round the lines, as the column stood to arms, and called upon the Sun and Mithras and the sacred and eternal fire to inspire them with a courage worthy of their former triumphs and of the great deeds of their ancestors.

*ib.* 14, (55), 24 (C. 39): (Darius): I beseech you, by the gods of our country, by the eternal flame, which is carried before us on the altar, by the bright sun which rises within the limits of my kingdom, and by the imperishable memory of Cyrus, who first deprived the Medes and the Lydians of the supremacy, and transferred it to Persia, save the Persian name and people from the last disgrace.

*ib.* V, 1, (2), 22 (C. 39): Next came Magians, singing a hymn, according to their practice. They were followed by soothsayers, and also by instrumentalists playing their national lyre. The latter were Babylonians, whose custom it is to sing the praises of the kings; the former Chaldeans, who point out the motions of the heavenly bodies and the appointed changes of the seasons.

*ib.* VII, 5 (24), 40 (C. 39): Alexander ordered Oxathres, the brother of Darius, who was one of his bodyguards, to approach nearer and to receive Bessus in custody, and then, having mutilated his ears and nose and impaled him upon a cross, so that the barbarians might transfix him with arrows, to preserve his body, in order to prevent even the birds from touching it.

*ib.* X, 5, (16), 17 (C. 39): The Persians, with their wives and children put on mourning (for Alexander) and cut off their hair, as their custom is, mourning for him not as an enemy who had recently conquered them, but with the sincere grief which they would have felt for the loss of a just king of their own race.

*ib.* 5, (17), 19 (C. 39): (The news of this sad event) was quickly brought also to the mother of Darius; when she heard it she tore off the garment which she was wearing and put on mourning, and then, tearing her hair, she threw herself on the floor.

*ib.* 24 (C. 39): Finally she succumbed to her grief and, covering her head, rejected the consolation of her grandson and grand-daughter when they fell at her knees, and abstained alike from food and from light.

*ib.* VIII, 2, (8), 19 (C. 39): Among them it is considered right for parents to have incestuous intercourse with their children.

*ib.* 5, (18), 11 (C. 40): The Persians...revered their kings as of the number of the gods, and this not merely out of affection for them, but also for prudential reasons, the majesty of the empire being the guardian of their welfare.

*ib.* X, 1 (5), 30ff. (C. 40): It happened that...Alexander, desiring to sacrifice in honour of Cyrus, ordered the opening of the tomb in which his body was preserved. 31. He had thought that the mausoleum was full of gold and silver—for rumours to this effect had been current all over Persia—but he found nothing but his sword, crumbling with age, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar. 32. However, he placed a golden crown at the head and covered with a cloak, which he had been accustomed to wear himself, the coffin in which the body lay, marveling that so famous and so wealthy a king had been buried with no more display than if he had been a common citizen.

#### SENECA THE PHILOSOPHER.

(died 65 B. C.)

Dialogues (ed. Hermes) II, 'The Steadfastness of the Wise Man'. 4, 2 (C. 40): Again, do you think that, when that stupid monarch (sc. Xerxes) darkened the day with his showers of darts, any one of those arrows hit the sun, or that, when he sank fetters in the sea, he was able to reach Neptune?

*ib.* V, Anger III, 16, 4 (C. 40): How much more com-plaisant was Xerxes! When a Delphian, the father of five, begged that one of his sons might be excused from service, he allowed him to choose whichever one he wished; and then



severed the unlucky youth in two, placed the halves on each side of the road, and, thus using him as a victim, purified his army.

*ib.* 21, 1ff. (C. 40-41): He (sc. Cambyses) was enraged against a people he knew nothing about, and who had done nothing to deserve his wrath, though they were destined to experience it; while Cyrus became enraged against a river. Intending to attack Babylon he was hastening to the seat of war—and in war the greatest issues depend upon seizing opportunities—and tried to ford the broad stream of the Gyndes, which it is scarcely safe to do even when the river has felt the effect of the summer-heat and its volume has decreased to the lowest point. 2. One of the white horses which used to draw the royal chariot was carried away by the stream, and the king was deeply angered; he swore that he would reduce that stream, for sweeping away the king's retinue, to such a size that even women would be able to cross it on foot. 3. Thereupon he proceeded to apply all his preparations for war to the chastisement of the river and continued at the task, until he had succeeded in breaking up the bed into a hundred and eighty canals and distributed the water through three hundred and sixty channels, leaving the main bed dry now that the water was finding its way in other directions.

PLINY THE ELDER.

(lived 23-79 A. D.)

Natural History (ed. Mayhoff) VI, 26, (29), 116 (C. 41): To the east of this place (sc. Laodicea) the Magians occupy the fortress of Phrasargida, where the tomb of Cyrus is situated.

*ib.* VII, 16, (15), 72 (G. 234; C. 41): I have heard it said that only one human being has laughed on the day he was born, to wit, Zoroaster; his brain pulsated so violently that it would repel a hand that was laid upon it—a presage of his future wisdom.

*ib.* XI, 42, (97), 242 (G. 234; C. 41): There is a tradition that Zoroaster lived in the desert on cheese so carefully cured for twenty years that he did not perceive its age.

*ib.* XVIII, 24, (55), 200 (G. 234; C. 41): In his Praxidica Accius added to these instructions that sowing must take place

when the moon is in Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra and Aquarius; Zoroaster, however, wrote that it should be after the sun had passed through twelve parts of Scorpio and when the moon is in Taurus.

*ib.* XXIV, 17, (99), 157 (C. 41): In completing my promised account of wonderful herbs, it occurs to me to say something also of the magic herbs, than which none are more wonderful. The first to bring them to notice in our part of the world were Pythagoras and Democritus, following the Magians.

*ib.* 17, (102), 160 (C. 41): There is certainly no doubt that Democritus wrote a work called Chirocmeta. But in this, though he knew more about the Magians than any one since Pythagoras, he records events much more extraordinary; for instance about the herb called 'Aglaophotis'.....saying the Magians made use of it when they wished to conjure up the gods.

*ib.* 165 (C. 41-42): He speaks of the Helianthes (sun-flower) as growing in Themiscyrene and on the mountains near the coast of Cilicia. It is boiled down with myrtle-leaves and lion's fat and mixed with saffron and palm-wine. It is used in this form by the Magians and the Persian kings as an ointment for their bodies. It gives the skin an agreeable appearance and for this reason is also called 'heliocallis' (beautiful as the sun).

*ib.* XXV, 2, (5), 13 (C. 42): Since his (sc. Homer's) time, Pythagoras, the famous philosopher, was the first to write a book concerning their effects (sc. the effects of herbs).....; another book was written by Democritus. The author in each case had visited the Magians of Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

*ib.* XXVIII, 6, (19), 69 (C. 42): For its sake the Magians forbid people to strip in the light of the sun or moon, or to let the shadow of anybody be cast by him (i.e., when he is nude).

*ib.* XXX, 1, (2), 3 f. (G. 234; C. 42): There is no doubt (this sect) arose in Persia from Zoroaster, as the authorities agree. But whether he was the only Zoroaster or there was also another one later is not certain. Eudoxus, who wished this sect to be regarded as the most famous and the most useful of the learned sects, handed down the tradition that this Zoroaster lived six thousand years before the death of Plato; so, also, wrote Aristotle. 4. Hermippus, who has written

with the utmost carefulness concerning this whole doctrine and has recorded that Zoroaster composed two million lines of verse in the indices to his books, has stated that even Azonaces (who according to him was Zoroaster's teacher) lived five thousand years before the Trojan War. It is especially remarkable that the doctrine has been remembered for so long a time without the aid of books, especially as Zoroaster's successors were neither distinguished nor in continuous succession. 5. Indeed how few people have heard the names—the only ones to be recorded, of Apuscorus\* and Zaratus, the Medes, of Marmarus and Arabantiphocus, the Babylonians, or of Tarmœndas, the Assyrian, none of whom has left any written works?

*ib.* 8 (G. 234; C. 42): So far as existing evidence is concerned, as I personally find upon research, the first to write on this subject was Osthane, who accompanied Xerxes, the king of the Persians, in his war against Greece. This man broadcast the seeds, so to speak, of his monstrous doctrine, incidentally leaving a contamination upon every place that he visited. The better scholars place another Zoroaster, a native of Proconnesus, at a somewhat earlier date than this man.

*ib.* 11 (G. 234; C. 43): There is also another school of magic that is derived from Moses, Jannes, Lotapes and the Jews, but which dates many thousands of years after Zoroaster.

*ib.* 2, (6), 16 f. (C. 43): Tiridates, a Magian, had come to him (sc. Nero) from Armenia, and as he lowered himself to that extent he made himself for that reason a greater burden to the provinces. 17. He had refused to travel by sea, because the Magians do not consider it right to pollute that element by spitting into it or to desecrate it by other inevitable bodily refuse. He had brought some Magians with him, and had even admitted him to the Magians' suppers; but Nero, though giving him a kingdom, had not the intellect necessary for receiving this art from him.

*ib.* XXXIII, 4, (24), 82 f (C. 43): The first statue made entirely of solid gold, of the type which they call 'holosphyraton' is said to have been set up in the temple of Anaitis, the deity most revered by those peoples, before one could be made of bronze in the way described. I make this mention of the deity by way of indicating the name of the place where the statue was set up. 83. It was despoiled at the time of the Parthian

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\* Or Apusorus.

campaign of Antonius, and it is recorded that one of the veterans, at a large banquet given by the divine Augustus in the city of Bononia, made a neat reply when asked whether it was true that the man who had first violated that deity had first lost the use of his eyes and limbs, and then died; he answered that at that very moment Augustus was dining off the leg of that statue, and that he himself was the man, and owed all his wealth to that robbery.

*ib.* XXXVII, 9, (49), 133 (G. 234; C. 43): They also highly commend the astroites<sup>1</sup> and those who are conversant with such things relate that Zoroaster in his treatises on magic sang its praises in an extravagant fashion.

*ib.* 10. (55), 150 (G. 235; C. 43): Zoroaster says that the hostrychitis<sup>2</sup> is somewhat like women's tresses.

*ib.* 10. (57), 157 (G. 235; C. 43): Zoroaster prescribes the daphnea<sup>3</sup> for attacks of epilepsy.

*ib.* 10. (58), 159 (G. 235; C. 44): Zoroaster describes the exhebenus<sup>4</sup> with which goldsmiths polish gold as a beautiful stone of a glittering white colour.

#### DIO CHRYSOSTOM.

(lived about 40 — 120 A. D.)

Orations (ed. de Budé) 4, 66 f. (C. 44): (Diogenes to Alexander). Have you not heard of the festival of the Sacæ, which is celebrated by the Persians, against whom you are eager to make an expedition. 67. Alexander, who wished to know everything about the Persians, at once asked: 'What kind of festival is it?' Diogenes replied: 'They take one of the prisoners who are under sentence of death, set him on the king's throne, give him the king's clothes and allow him to give orders and to drink and indulge himself and to consort with the king's concubines during the days of the festival, nobody offering any opposition to his doing anything he pleases.' After this they strip and scourge him and then impale him.

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1. A precious stone, otherwise unknown.

2. A precious stone.

3. A precious stone.

4. A precious stone.

*ib.* 13, 24 (C. 44): They (the Persians) regarded stripping the body and spitting in public as disgraceful in the last degree.

*ib.* (ed. de Arnim) 36, 39ff. (C. 44): Another . . . . . story that attracts attention is sung at the performance of secret rites by Magians, who praise this god (sc. Zeus the king) as perfect and as the first driver of the most perfect chariot. For they say that the chariot of the Sun is inferior by comparison with the other, though well-known to the generality of mankind, because its course is visible. Hence it became the subject of popular interest, which started, as it seems, with the poets who described at various times the risings and setting of the heavenly bodies; for they all gave the same account of the yoking of the steeds and of the Sun himself mounting the chariot. 40. As for the mighty, perfect chariot of Zeus, no writer in this part of the world, not even Homer or Hesiod, has glorified it as it merits, whereas Zoroaster and, following his example, the sons of the Magians, extol it highly in their hymns. This man, according to the account of the Persians, through zeal for wisdom and righteousness withdrew from the rest of men to live by himself in a certain mountain; a great fire then fell down from heaven and set the mountain on fire so that it burned continuously. Accordingly, the king accompanied by the most notable of the Persians drew near to it prompted by a desire to pray to the god. The man came out of the fire unscathed and appeared before them and graciously bade them be of good cheer and to offer certain sacrifices, since the god had come to that place. After this he associated with men, not with all, however, but only with those who by nature were really the best and who were capable of comprehending the god, a class whom the Persians called Magians, knowing, as they did, how to worship divinity, but who were not "magicians," as the Greeks term them in their ignorance of the meaning of the name.

*ib.* 41 ff. (G. 236-7; C. 45-47): They (the Magians) perform various duties according to the rules of their faith, the chief of which is the maintenance of the chariot of Nisæan horses in honour of Zeus. These horses are the finest and largest that are produced in Asia. They also maintain a single horse in honour of the Sun. 42. They relate the story without the straining after plausibility which characterises the narratives of our interpreters of the Muses; on the contrary, they show a contumacious independence. They say that supreme experience and strength guide and steer the whole, as it were a chariot, in a single and permanent course which continues everlastingly in everlasting cycles of time. The courses of the Sun and Moon are, as I said,



movements of parts, and are for that reason more distinctly perceived by men. The course and movement of the whole is not understood by the generality of men, who fail to realise the magnitude of this race in which they run. 43. I am ashamed to explain the further details of their description of the horses and of the driving, for they are not at all careful that all the points in the allegory should be mutually consistent. I might well seem ridiculous, adding this barbarian song to the choice productions of the Greeks. Nevertheless, I must make the attempt. They say that the first of the heavenly horses is distinguished by an infinite beauty, size and speed; for he runs round the course at its longest extent, on the outer edge, and is sacred to Zeus himself. He has wings and his colour is white, of the purest brilliance. Upon him the Sun and the Moon are visible as distinct signs, just as, I suppose, their horses also have signs, some crescent-shaped, others of a different kind. 44. These are seen by ourselves all together, as though they were great sparks speeding through the bright glare of the flame; but they have each its own individual movement. And the other stars are made visible by its light and are all real parts of it; some of them revolve with it, this being their only movement; while others move in other courses. Among mankind each one of these has an individual name; but the former are multitudinous in number, and are separated into certain figures and forms. 45. The horse which is brightest and most splendid and most dear to Zeus is celebrated by them somewhat in this way, and being the first, naturally receives the first sacrifices and honours. The second, which keeps close to it and is nearest to it, is named after Hera. It is tractable and tame, but it is much inferior in strength and speed. Its natural colour is black, but that upon which the sun shines ever partakes of brightness. But that part of it which is in the shadow during the circular course has the form of colour which is natural to it. 46. The third is sacred to Poseidon, and is slower than the second. It is a likeness of this one, I think, which the poets describe as having appeared among men: I mean the horse they call Pegasus, which, they say, by breaking the earth with its hoof caused a spring to well up at Corinth. The fourth is the most paradoxical element in the allegory. So far from having wings, it is stark and immobile, and is named after the Hearth. In spite of its nature, they cling to their allegory and say that it is yoked to the chariot with the rest, but that it stands still, and gnaws at a bit, which is made of adamant. 47. It remains rooted to the spot with all its limbs and the two horses near it both lean towards it, for in reality they fall against it in the press. The outermost is always turning round the stationary

one as if it were the turning-point in a stadium. Now for the most part they continue in harmony and friendship, unharmed by each other. But it has sometimes happened in the long course of time in which they have so often run round the course, that the heavy breath of the first horse, natural in so spirited an animal, descends from above and scorches the others, especially the last one; it scorched its mane, which was its special distinction, and also all its trappings. 48. It was a disaster of this kind, they say, that the Greeks mentioned on one occasion, and ascribed to Phaëthon, not being able to criticise the driving of Zeus nor wishing to find fault with the course taken by the Sun. On which account they say that a younger charioteer, the mortal son of the Sun, desiring to essay a sport that was difficult and unprofitable for all mortals, asked his father's permission to drive the chariot; and then, driving carelessly, burned up everything that was alive or growing upon the earth and in the end, smitten by a greater fire, himself perished. 49. And again whenever, at long intervals of years, the foal sacred to the Nymphs and Poseidon rears up, in the excitement of some unusual effort, it deluges with sweat the same fourth horse which is its yoke-mate. And so, drenched by the stream of water, it causes a disaster which is the reverse of the former one. And it was a deluge of this kind, they say, that the Greeks, because of their youth and poor memory, describe, being satisfied to believe that Deucalion was their king in the time before the general flood. 50. As these events happen very rarely, men think that, because their own destruction is involved, such things are interruptions of the course of nature and are not phases in the ordering of the whole; they do not realise that they have a real place in nature and that they occur in accordance with the will of that which preserves and directs the whole. The case is similar to that of the charioteer correcting one of his team by a jerk of the bridle or by implanting his spurs. The horse in sudden terror and panic leaps forward. This then, they say, is the only case of chariot-driving which is sound and which does not involve the complete destruction of the whole.

*ib.* 49, 7 (C. 47): It is a general practice..of the most powerful peoples to appoint philosophers to guide and share the power of their kings, since the permanent rule of philosophers is impossible. This position is occupied among the Persians by those whom they call Magians, who were skilled in natural lore and who understood the ways in which to give proper service to the gods.

*ib.* 74, 14 (C. 47): Did not the king ignore the royal gods and his own pledges?

PLUTARCH.

(lived about 46—120 A.D.)

*Moralia* (ed. Bernardakis), *De Superstitione*, 13, 171 D. (C. 47): Amestris..the wife of Xerxes buried alive twelve men as an offering to Hades on her own behalf.

*De Mulierum Virtutibus*, 263 AB. (C. 47): When..Xerxes went down against Greece, he (Pythes), having distinguished himself above all others for the magnificence with which he had received him and the number of the gifts which he had made him, asked the king as a favour to excuse one of his many sons from service and to leave him behind to take care of his father in his old age. Xerxes, however, in a rage, put to death just the one son for whom Pythes had asked this favour and then, cutting his body in two, made his army pass between the severed halves. The other sons he took with him, etc.

*De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute*, I, 5, 328 C (C. 47): If you investigate the civilising work of Alexander, you will see that he taught the Hyrcanians marriage and the Anachosians agriculture, and that he persuaded the Sogdianans to look after their parents instead of putting them to death, and the Persians to respect their mothers instead of marrying them.

*ib.* II, 6, 338 F. (C. 47): (Darius): 'If..my empire has passed, I pray, O Zeus, hereditary deity of the Persians, and ye gods of my throne, that no other than Alexander may ever ascend the throne of Cyrus.'

Isis and Osiris, 44. 368F: (C. 48): Originally the dog received the greatest honour in Egypt. But when Cambyses destroyed Apis and cast forth its body, no animal but the dog approached its body or tasted its flesh, and since that time the dog has forfeited the first and chief place in honour that it held among animals.

*ib.* 46 f. 369 D—370 C. (G. 235; C. 48): Now this is the opinion of the majority and of the wisest of men. Some believe there are two gods, rival craftsmen as it

were, the one the creator of good things, the other of evil things. Others call the better divinity, God, and the other, Dæmon, as does Zoroaster the Magian, who they say lived five thousand years before the Trojan War. Now Zoroaster called the former Horomazes and the latter Arimanius; furthermore, he showed that one was more like light than anything else apprehended by the senses, the other more like darkness and ignorance, and Mithras midway between the two; hence Mithras is known to the Persians as the Mediator. Zoroaster taught them to make to the one vows and thank-offerings, to the other sacrifices for averting evil and things of depressing appearance. For example, while pounding in a mortar a certain herb called Omomi, they appeal to Hades and to darkness; then they mix it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, take it to a place where the sun never shines and throw it away. The reason for this is because they regard some plants as belonging to the beneficent god and others to the evil dæmon; some animals, such as dogs, birds and hedgehogs, pertain, they hold, to the former, but wateranimals to the latter and for this reason they account him fortunate who has killed most. 47. None the less they too tell many mythological tales about the gods, such as the following. Horomazes and Arimanius, the one begotten of the purest light, the other of nether darkness, are at war with each other. The first created six gods, the first of good-will, the second of truth, the third of good laws, and of the rest one as maker of wisdom, one of wealth and one of pleasure in fine things. And Arimanius created a similar number, to be, as it were, the rivals of these. Then Horomazes having increased himself threefold moved as far away from the sun as the sun is away from the earth, and decorated the heaven with stars. He set up among them one star, Sirius, before the rest, to be as it were a sentinel and scout. He also created twenty-four other gods and placed them in an egg. But the gods who were created by Arimanius, who were equal in number, bored a hole in the egg....\* whence evil has become mingled with good. But the destined time will come, when Areimanius will bring a plague and famine and inevitably perish by them utterly and disappear; when the earth will become level and flat, and when all men will be happy and speak one tongue and live one life under one form of government. Theopompus says that according to the Magians for three thousand years each of the two gods is alternately supreme and in subjection, and that during another period of three thousand years they fight and are at war, each upsetting the work of the

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\* MSS. defective.

other ; but that in the end Hades is left behind, and mankind will be happy, neither needing food nor casting shadows ; and that the god who brought this to pass is quiet and at rest for a time, on the whole not a long one for a god, but a reasonably long one for a man asleep. Of this kind, then, is the mythology of the Magians.

De Defectu Oraculorum 10, 415 A (G. 235 ; C. 49) : In my opinion more and greater difficulties are removed by those who rank the race of dæmons midway between gods and men, having discovered as it were the bond that unites and associates us together. It is uncertain whether this belief originated among the Zoroastrian Magians, or in Thrace with Orpheus, or in Egypt, or in Phrygia, as may be inferred from the mystic initiations practised in both countries, when we observe there is a mixture of elements suggestive of mortality and mourning in their orgiastic and sacrificial rites.

De Invidia et Odio, 3, 537 B. (C. 49) : The.....Persian Magians used to kill mice since they hated the animal themselves and believed the god objected to it.

Quæstiones Conviviales IV, 1, 1 (G. 235) : I have not remembered hearing, said Philo, that Philinus was secretly rearing for us a Sosastrus who, as tradition has it, lived his whole life without using any other drink or food than milk.

*ib.* 2, 670 D. (G. 236 ; C. 49) : And why would anyone accuse the Egyptians of such nonsense, when it is upon record that even the Pythagoreans revere a white cock and abstain particularly from the mullet and the sea-nettle among marine animals, while the Magians, who originated with Zoroaster, hold the hedgehog in very high regard but abhor water-rats, believing that the person who kills the greatest number of them is blest with the divine favour.

Ad Principem Ineruditum 3, 780 C (C. 49) : The.....king of the Persians had among his chamberlains one whose duty was to enter his chamber at dawn and say to him : ' Rise, O King, and take thought for those things for which the great Oromasdes desireth that thou shouldst take thought.'

De Vitando Aere Alieno, 5, 829 C (C. 50) : The Persians.....consider lying the second greatest of the sins, and indebtedness the greatest, on the ground that it often leads men who are guilty of it to tell lies also.



Men who borrow are the more apt to tell lies and to make false entries in their books to the effect that they are paying a particular individual more than they actually are doing.

De Animæ Procreatione in Timæo, II, 1012 E (G. 236; C. 50): Zaratas, the teacher of Pythagoras used to call this (*i.e.* duality) the mother of number, and unity the father; hence he believed that all those numbers that resemble unity are superior to the others, but that this number (unity) was not Soul.

*ib.* XXVII (G. 236): Necessity is the name most men give to Destiny. Empedocles, however, calls it love and strife; Heraclitus, the harmony of the universe produced by opposing strains, as in a lyre or a bow; Parmenides, light and darkness; Anaxagoras, mind and the infinite; Zoroaster, God and Dæmon, designating one Oromasdes, the other Arimanius.

Adversus Coloten, 14, 1115 A (G. 236; C. 50): Where, pray, in the uninhabited world did you set about writing this book, trying while compiling these accusations, to avoid access to their works, nor take up Aristotle, On the Heavens and On the Soul, nor Theophrastus' tractate against the Naturalists, nor Heraclides On Zoroaster, On Hades and On Problems of Natural Philosophy, nor Dicaearchus On the Soul, books in which these men consistently oppose and combat Plato in respect of the most important and greatest point of natural philosophy?

Parallel Lives (ed. Sintensis), Numa, 4 (G. 235; C. 50): Is it right, then, if we concede these points in regard to the personages we have mentioned, to disbelieve that Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa and Lycurgus, men who governed kingdoms and framed political constitutions, had frequent converse with divinity?

Lucullus, 24 (C. 50): He received a favourable sign at the moment of crossing. The barbarians across the Euphrates revere the Persians Artemis above all other deities and keep cows which are sacred to her, and which they use only for the purpose of sacrifice. They are branded with the torch of the goddess and range at large over the country, so that it is a matter of considerable trouble and difficulty to catch any of them when required. One of these, when the army had crossed the river, came up to a certain rock which was held to be sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it. Then lowering its head, like an animal held down by a halter, it offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice.

Themistocles, 27 (C. 50-51): Thucydides.....and Charon of Lampsacus say that Xerxes was dead and that it was his son with whom Themistocles had dealings. Ephorus, Dino, Clitar-chus, Heraclides, and many others aver that he met Xerxes himself.....Themistocles, however this may be, having reached this extremity first came upon the chiliarch Artabanus and said that he was a Greek and that he desired an interview with the king for the discussion of very important matters relating to the chief objects of the latter's policy. Artabanus replied: 'Stranger, the customs of men differ and diverse views are held as to what is honourable. And it is to the honour of all to elaborate and preserve their own customs. It is reasonable that your people should value freedom and equality above all things. Among ourselves, of many good customs the finest is this, that we honour the king and do obeisance to him as an image of the god who maintains all things. If then you will acquiesce in our customs, and do obeisance, you may behold the king and address him. But if you are otherwise minded, you must find another to take your message to him, for it is contrary to ancestral custom that the king should listen to one who has not done obeisance.' Themistocles, having heard this, answered him: 'Why, I have come here, Artabanus, to augment the fame and power of the king, and I will myself yield to your customs, since such is the pleasure of the god, who has made the Persians great, and I will bring it about that more men than do so now shall do obeisance to the king. So do not let this be an obstacle to the proposal which I desire to address to him.' 'And whom,' said Artabanus, 'shall we report as having arrived? For you appear to be a man of no ordinary intelligence.' Themistocles answered: 'No man may learn this, Artabanus, before the king does.' This is the account given by Phanias.

*ib.* 28 (C. 51): The Persian.....is said to have prayed that Arimanius would always make his enemies minded to drive their own best men into exile, and then to have sacrificed to the gods, after which he straightway began drinking and in the night thrice called out for joy while fast asleep: 'I have Themistocles the Athenian.'

Alexander, 30 (C. 51-52): Soon however, he repented, when the wife of Darius died in childbirth. It was plain that he regretted having lost an opportunity of displaying his kindness, and for this reason he spared no expense in the elaborate funeral which he provided for the queen. One of the Eunuchs of the bedchamber, by name Tireus, who had been captured with the royal ladies, escaped from the camp, and making his way to

Darius on horseback, reported to him the death of his wife. When he heard of it he smote his head and burst into tears, exclaiming "Alas for the fate of the Persians, that the wife and sister of the king should not only be taken prisoner alive, but should also lie dead without the honour of a royal funeral!" The chamberlain replied, "O King, you have no ground to complain of the evil fate of the Persians in regard to her funeral and all the marks of honour and ceremony that were her due. When alive your queen Stateira and your mother and your children enjoyed all their former position and honour save only the light of your countenance, which the lord Oromasdes will cause once more to shine brightly. And in death she received all honour and was lamented even by the enemy. For Alexander is as humane a conqueror as he is terrible as a fighter." When he heard this, Darius, distracted by his grief, conceived extraordinary suspicions. He led the Eunuch further into his tent and said "If I, Darius, am still your master, if you have not, like the Persian fortunes, turned Macedonian, remember the honour due to the great light of Mithras and your king's right hand, and tell me, am I lamenting the least of the misfortunes of Stateira? Was my fate more wretched while she was alive? Would my misfortune have brought me less dishonour if I had met a sullen and brutal foe? For what can one reasonably conclude of a young man's conduct towards the wife of his enemy, especially when he has paid her such honours?" While he was still speaking Tireus threw himself at his feet and begged him to cease and not to wrong Alexander nor bring shame upon his own dead sister and wife, nor to deprive himself of the best consolation for his reverses, namely the conviction that his conqueror was superhuman in power; he ought rather, he said, to respect Alexander for having shown a greater continence in his relations with the wives of the Persians than bravery in fighting their husbands.

*ib.* 69 (C. 52): When he visited the tomb of Cyrus, he discovered that it had been forcibly entered. He put to death the offender, Polymachus, in spite of the fact that he belonged to a distinguished family of Pella. When he had read the inscription on the tomb, he gave orders for a Greek translation to be engraved beneath it. It was as follows: 'Stranger, whoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest, know that I am Cyrus who gained the empire for the Persians. Do not then grudge me this small extent of earth which surrounds my body.'

Artaxerxes 3 (C. 52): Shortly.....after the death of Darius the king proceeded to Pasargadæ to be initiated into his

royal status by the Persian priests. Pasargadæ is sacred to a warlike goddess who may be compared to Athene. The candidate for initiation, as soon as he enters, must remove his own clothing and put on that which was worn in old time by Cyrus before he became king. Then he has to chew a preserved fig, gnaw a piece of the turpentine-tree, and quaff a cup of sour milk. It is not known to people in general whether other rites are carried out in addition to these.

*ib.* 4 (C. 52-53): No proffered gift was so small that he would not accept it willingly. Indeed, when a certain Omisus brought him a single pomegranate of extraordinary size he exclaimed: "By Mithras, this man, if entrusted with a small city would soon turn it into a large one."

*ib.* 6 (C. 53): Among other boasts about himself he said that his heart was heavier than his brother's and that he was a deeper thinker and a better Magian than he; moreover, that he could drink more wine, and carry it better; and that his brother was so cowardly and so effeminate that he could not keep his seat on his horse when at the chase, nor on his throne in time of war.

*ib.* 10 (C. 53): Cyrus.....was killed, according to some authorities, by a blow from the king. Others relate that the man who dealt the blow was a Carian, and that as a reward for this exploit the king gave him a golden cock to carry on his spear in front of his battalion whenever he took part in a campaign. The fact is that the Persians called the Carians' cocks, on account of the crests which adorn their helmets.

*ib.* 14 (C. 52): Having observed that Arbaces, a Mede, had displayed cowardice and lack of spirit, though not treachery or evil intent, in the battle with Cyrus, he having run away and then, after Cyrus had been killed, returned to the ranks, the king ordered him to pick up a naked harlot, place her legs round his neck, and carry her round the market-place for a whole day. Another man, in addition to running away had falsely claimed to have cut down two of the enemy: him he ordered to have his tongue pierced by three needles.

*ib.* 15 (C. 53): The.....others, foreseeing already the wretched fate of Mithridates, bent their heads. The host, however, said, 'My good Mithridates, let us for the present eat and drink, revering the fortune of the king. Let us abandon subjects that are too deep for us.'

*ib.* 23 (C. 53-54): After this.....she did everything she could to please the king and as she offered no objections to anything he did, she exercised great influence with him and obtained everything she wanted. She observed that he was deeply enamoured of one of his daughters, Atossa, though trying to conceal the fact and to restrain his passion, chiefly for fear of arousing her jealousy, according to some writers, in spite of the fact that he had already had secret intercourse with the girl. Parysatis, suspecting this, showed her greater favour than before, and praised her beauty and her character, telling Artaxerxes that it was distinguished and worthy of a princess. Finally she persuaded him to marry the girl and to declare her to be his lawful wife, disregarding the opinions and customs of the Greeks and declaring that he had been appointed by the god to be a law to the Persians and the judge of right and wrong. It is said, however, by some authorities including Heraclides of Cumæ, that Artaxerxes married, not one only of his daughters, but also a second, Amestris, of whom I shall shortly have occasion to say something. Atossa, however, now living with him as his wife, he cherished so warmly that when she fell a victim to leprosy he gave no sign of disgust, but prayed for her to Hera. To this goddess alone he bowed himself down, touching the earth with his hands; and ordered his satraps and friends to send gifts to the goddess until the whole space, sixteen stades wide, between the temple and the palace, was crowded with objects of gold and silver, with purple fabrics, and with horses.

*ib.* 26 (C. 54): Oehus...paid court to her (Atossa), promising that she should become his wife and share his power after her father's death. There was also a rumour to the effect that even during Artaxerxes' lifetime Oehus had secret intercourse with her.

*ib.* 27 (C. 54): He made her (Aspasia) priestess of Artemis at Ecbatana, whom they call Anaitis, in order that she should live in purity for the rest of her life.

*ib.* 28 (C. 54): A man who for love of a Greek mistress violated the Persian custom of telling the truth can assuredly not be trusted to maintain the most important agreements.

*ib.* 29 (C. 54): Some authorities....relate that when he entered the court he did obeisance to the Sun and said: 'Depart and be happy, O Persians; and tell the others, that the great Oromasdes has inflicted punishment upon those who plotted a lawless and impious crime.'



Quæstiones Romance 26 (tr. Rose). Why do the women, when in mourning, wear white dresses and white kerchiefs? Do they, as the Magi are said to do, take sides against death and darkness by this action, and assimilate themselves to light and brightness?

PSEUDO-PLUTARCH.

(wrote after the beginning of the second century A. D.)

Greek and Roman Parallels (Plutarchi Moralia ed. Bernardakis) 2 (=Stobæus, Florilegium VII, 63, (C. 54-55): Xerxes, with an armament of five million men anchored off Artemisium and declared war on the inhabitants. The Athenians, distracted by fear, sent Agesilaus, brother of Themistocles, to survey the situation, in spite of the fact that his father Neocles had had a dream in which he saw him with the loss of both his hands. Dressed as a Persian, he reached the barbarians' camp, and there slew Mardonius, one of the royal bodyguard, mistaking him for Xerxes. He was seized by the bystanders and led in chains to the king. The latter happened to be on the point of sacrificing an ox upon the altar of the sun. Agesilaus placed his right hand upon the altar, and when he bore without groaning the rigour of the test, was set free from his bonds. Then he said, "The Athenians are all such as I am; if you do not believe me, I will lay my left hand also upon the altar." Xerxes, in a panic, gave orders for him to be kept under guard. Such is the account given by Agatharchides of Samos in the second book of his history of Persia.

JUVENAL.

(lived about 47-127 A. D.)

Satires (ed. Housman) X, 176 ff. (C. 55): We believe..the tales which Sostratus recites in a perspiring frenzy. Still, in what guise did he (Xerxes) return after leaving Salamis, he who had been wont to vent his insane rage with lashes upon the north wind and the east wind, which Aeolus had never so maltreated in their prison; he who had bound with chains Poseidon himself (though in truth he showed some clemency, in not holding him to deserve the brand as well.) Would any one of the gods have been content to serve such a master?

AELIUS THEO.

(lived about 100 A. D.)

Progymnasmata 9, 234 f. (Spengel, *Rhetores Græci*, II, 114 f.) (G. 237; C. 55): Now not even if Tomyris the

Massogete queen, or Sparedra the consort of Amogus the king of the Sacians is stronger than Cyrus, or, by Heaven, if even Semiramis is stronger than Zoroaster the Bactrian, aye, not even then must one admit that the female is more courageous than the male, for whereas one or two women are courageous in a high degree, vast is the number of men who are.

TACITUS.

(died in the reign of Hadrian)

Annals (ed. Holm-Andresen) III. 62 (C. 55): The people of Hierocæsarea put forward an argument based upon a more ancient tradition, alleging that they possessed a shrine, dedicated in the reign of Cyrus, to the Persian Diana.

*ib.* VI, 37 (C. 55): Vitellius...urged Tiridates to carry out his design, and led the main body of the legions and allied troops to the bank of the Euphrates. There they offered sacrifice, Vitellius, in Roman fashion, with boar, sheep, and bull, Tiridates with a richly-caparisoned horse, to propitiate the river. While they were thus engaged news was brought by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood that the Euphrates.. was rising, etc.

*ib.* XV, 24 (C. 56): Envoys from Parthia brought a message from King Vologeses and a letter to the same effect.... saying that Tiridates would not have refused to come to Rome to receive the diadem, were it not that he was prevented by the religious ban which lay upon members of his priesthood.

PHILO OF BYBLOS.

(wrote in the reign of Hadrian).

Quoted by Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford) I, 10, 42 a b. (G. 243; C. 56): Zoroaster.....the Magian in the sacred writings of the Persians writes thus: "God has the head of a hawk. He is the First, imperishable, everlasting, unbegotten, indivisible, inimitable, controller of all that is beautiful, not subject to bribes, supreme among the good, most prudent of the prudent; moreover, He is the father of righteousness and justice, self-instructed, uncreated, perfect, wise and the sole discoverer of divine nature." The same statement is made by Ostanès in his work, the *Octateuch*.

## CEPHALIUS.

(wrote in the same period as Tacitus)

See under Clement of Alexandria.

## ZENOBIUS.

(flourished under Hadrian)

Selection from the Maxims of Tarræus and Didymus (*Paræmiographici Græci*, ed. Leutach and Schneidewin I) V, 78 (C. 56) :

Evandrus said that there were eight gods who controlled everything : Fire, Water, Earth, Sky, Moon, Sun, Mithras, Night.

## MINUCIUS FELIX.

(wrote under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius)

Octavius (ed. Schœne) 26, 10 f. (C. 56) : The Magians... are not only aware of the existence of dæmons, but use them as instruments for the performance of their various miraculous tricks : it is by their inspiration and under their influence that they practise their deceptions, 11. in which they cause that which is not to appear to be or that which is to appear not to be. Of these Magians Hostanes was the most distinguished for eloquence and assiduity. He accords to the true god the honour he deserves, and knows that angels, *i.e.* servants and messengers, keep watch over the seat of the god and attend him out of reverence for him, which causes them to tremble with fear even at his nod or when they behold his face. The same Hostanes also asserted the existence of terrestrial dæmons, which he described as wanderers and enemies of humanity.

*ib.* 31, 3. (C. 56) : It is considered lawful in Persia to have intercourse with one's mother.

## ARRIAN.

(lived about 95-175 A. D.)

Anabasis (ed. Roos) VI, 29, 1, 4ff. (C. 57) : He himself (Alexander).....took the route to Pasargadæ in Persis....4. He was grieved at the lawless treatment to which the tomb of Cyrus the son of Cambyes had been subjected : for, according

to Aristobulus' account he arrived at the tomb to find that it had been forcibly entered and plundered.....5. The tomb itself in its lower part had been made square in shape, of cubical blocks of stone; above it was a covered chamber of stone, with a narrow door giving inwards, wide enough to enable a small man, with great trouble and difficulty, to get through. In this chamber was a golden bath, in which the body of Cyrus had been buried; and beside the bath was a bed, the legs of which were of beaten gold. The bedding was of purple cloth and upon it was a quilt of Babylonian workmanship, 6. and on top of this, coats and garments besides of the same style. Aristobulus adds that there were in addition Median trousers and robes dyed some the colour of hyacinth, others purple, others in various different shades, and also necklaces and scimitars and ear-rings firmly fashioned of gold and precious stones. There was also a table. The bath, which contained the body of Cyrus, was in the middle of the bed. 7. Within the enclosure and close to the approach to the tomb was a small building which had been made by the Magians who, ever since the time of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, had kept watch over the tomb, the duty passing from father to son throughout that period. They received from the king a sheep and fixed quantities of wheat-flour and wine every day, and every month a horse to be sacrificed to Cyrus. Upon the tomb was an inscription in Persian characters, to the following effect: 'O stranger, I am Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who acquired the empire for the Persians and became ruler of Asia. Do not therefore grudge me my tomb.'

#### PTOLEMY.

(lived about 100-178 A. D.)

Tetrabiblon (ed. Norimberg) II, p. 17 (C. 57-58): The regions which include India, Ariane, Gedrosia, Parthia, Media, Persis, Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Assyria.....are autocratically governed . . . in the eastern manner by the priests of Aphrodite and of Cronus. In consequence the character of the inhabitants will be found to bear the impress of the policy always adopted by men who have acquired despotic rule of this kind. For they revere the priest of Aphrodite, whom they call Isis, and the priest of Cronus ( \*) and Mithras as the sun. Most of them also practise divination as to the future.

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\* MS apparently defective.

## LUCIAN.

(lived about 120-180 A. D.)

(ed. Sommerbrodt) Menippus, 6 f. 463 (G. 237; C. 58):  
Once as I was lying awake because of these things it seemed to me that Menippus went to Babylon and made a request of one of the Magians, the disciples and successors of Zoroaster; and I observed them using certain incantations and rites to open the portals of Hades and to conduct down thither unharmed whomsoever they would and to bring them up again.

*ib.* 65, 463ff: (C. 58, 59; continuation of passage quoted in (G. 237); I therefore thought it best to obtain from one of them (sc. Magians) permission to make the descent, and to go and learn from Teiresias the Bœotian, he being a prophet and a man of wisdom, what was the best life, which a sensible man would elect to live? So I jumped up and with all speed made straight for Babylon, where I met a certain wise man of Chaldaea, a great master of his art, who had grey hair and a right fine beard covering his chest. His name was Mithrobarzanes, and by prayers and entreaties, and by promising him whatever reward he chose to demand, I at last persuaded him to show me the way down. 7. He took me along and first, for twenty-nine days, starting with the new moon, he led me down to the Euphrates at dawn and gave me a bath, while he addressed the rising sun in a long speech, which I did not hear too well, as he mouthed it out in a voluble and unintelligible fashion, just like an inferior herald at the games. He did seem, however, to be invoking certain dæmons. Anyhow, after this incantation he would spit in my face three times and then go back, looking at none of the passers-by. The food we had was fruit, and we drank milk, or milk and honey, and the water of the Choaspes. We slept out of doors on the grass. When he had had enough of this initiation by dieting, he took me about midnight to the Tigris river and cleansed and wiped and purified me all over with a pine-torch and a squill and a greet many other things, muttering the incantation all the time. Next, when he had made a complete magian of me, he walked round me, to prevent my getting any harm from the phantoms, and then led me back home as I was, asking him questions all the way. For the rest of the time we were engaged on a voyage. 8. Now Mithrobarzanes put on some kind of magian robe, and very Median it looked; he carried these things, the cap and the lion-skin and in addition the lyre, and fitted me out with them, telling me not to answer 'Menippus,' but to say that I was Heracles or Odysseus or Orpheus, if any one asked my name.



De Luctu 21, 932 (C. 59): As far as lamentations go, all peoples are equally foolish, and in the same way. But the next step, that of the disposal of the dead, they perform in different ways. The Greeks cremate the dead, the Persians bury them, the Indians cover them with glass, the Scythians eat them up and the Egyptians embalm them.

Navigium seu Vota 30, 267 (C. 59): Lucius: 'O King, for the honour you have given me I am grateful and I bow down in the Persian fashion and do obeisance to you, dragging my hands behind me, paying honour to your diadem and the tiara which sits so straight upon your head.'

Juppiter Tragoedus 42, 690 (C. 59): Different peoples have different beliefs: the Scythians sacrifice to a scimitar, the Thracians to Zalmoxis, a runaway slave who came to them from Samos, the Phrygians to Menes, the Ethiopians to Day, the Cyllenians to Phales, the Assyrians to the pigeon, the Persians to fire, and the Egyptians to water.

#### DIOSCORIDES.

(lived in the second century A. D.)

Materia Medica II, 144 (GM, p. 312.): Cultivated mallow: (called by the Romans, *malva hortensis*; by Pythagoras, *anthema*; by Zoroaster, *diadesma*; by the Egyptians, *chocorte*; by professional interpreters of oracles, goatspleen, and by others mousetail), more suitable for eating than the uncultivated.

*ib.* V, 175 (GM, p. 312.): Colocynthis (pumpkin): which some call goat's gourd; some, bitter *sicya*; some, Alexandrian gourd; (Zoroaster, *thymbra*; Osthane, selfborn; the Romans, *cucurbita silvatica*; the Dacians, *tutastra*); spreads its branches and leaves over the ground.

#### APULEIUS OF MADAURA.

(lived from about 124 to about 170 A. D.)

Apologia (ed. Helm) 25 (C. 59): For if, as I read in the works of many writers, the Persian word 'Magian' means the same as our word 'priest,' what crime is there in being a priest and having a proper knowledge and understanding and experience of the laws as to religious observances, the proper way to conduct sacrifices, and the legitimate methods of dealing with holy things—assuming, that is, that the magic art is what Plato

interprets it to be in his account of the training given by the Persians to youthful candidates for the throne.....

*ib.* 26 (G. 237-238; C. 59): Do you—you who accuse magic thoughtlessly—hear it said that magic is an art approved by the immortal gods, an art that supplies abundant knowledge of how to worship and revere them, an art obviously religious and imbued with ideas of the divine, an art which from the days of its founders, Zoroaster and Oromazus, was famous as a cult of the heavenly gods? Famous, I say, because it is taught as being one of the first duties of royal princes and because no Persian is permitted to become a Magian without giving proper thought thereto any more than to become a king. Plato himself has left us the same idea in another discourse on a certain Zalmoxis, who though a Thracian practised the same art: “Good sir”, said he, “the soul must be healed by means of certain incantations, and these are merely words that are good.” Now if this is true, why may I not know either the good words of Zalmoxis or the priestly acts of Zoroaster?

*ib.* 31 (G. 238): Most authorities have thought that Pythagoras, a disciple of Zoroaster, was likewise skilled in magic.

*ib.* 90 (G. 238; C. 59-60): If you approve a reward however modest, I would be Carinondas, or, if you like, Damigeron, or Jannes, or Apollonius, or even Dardanus himself or anyone else who became renowned among the Magians since Zoroaster and Hostanes.

Florida (ed. Helm) 15 (G. 237; C. 60): There are those who state that Pythagoras was among the captives taken by Cambyzes the King at the time of his invasion of Egypt and that he had as teachers Persian Magians, and, especially, Zoroaster, the high priest of all that is divine; afterward, he was brought back from captivity by Gillus, the ruler of Croton.

#### ARISTIDES.

(wrote in the reign of Antoninus Pius)

Apologia (ed. Goodspeed) 3, 2 (C. 60): The.....Chaldeans (who derive their descent from Beel (Cronus), Rhea, and the rest of their gods), since they did not know Gcd, made haphazard attempts to discover something more ultimate than the elements and began to revere the creation as the equivalent of him who had created them. Of the elements they made certain

representations, which they called models respectively of the heaven, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon and the other elements. These they enclose in temples, where they do obeisance to them and call them gods.....

*ib.* 4, 1, ff. (C. 60-61): Let us then, O King, come to the elements themselves, and show that they are not gods but perishable and changeable things..... 2. Those who believe the heaven is a god are astray..... 3. Those who believe the earth is a goddess are astray, for we observe it to suffer outrage and to submit to dominion at the hands of mankind..... It is trodden by men and the other animals, it is polluted by the blood of men who are slain, it is dug up, it is crowded with corpses, and serves as tomb for bodies. 4. (And it is impossible that the divine nature, which is hallowed and bright and sacred and unchangeable, should undergo any such treatment)..... 5. Those who believe water to be a god are astray. For water also is turned to the uses of men and they have dominion over it. It is polluted and its nature is changed and destroyed when it is boiled or stained with colours or congealed by frost (and it is commingled and combined with the ordure of men and cattle and the blood of the slain)..... 3. Those who believe fire to be a god are astray, for fire was produced for the uses of men and they have dominion over it. They carry it about from place to place for boiling and roasting all kinds of meat..... and also for burning..... dead bodies. 4. Those who believe the breath of the winds to be a goddess are astray..... 6, 1: Those who believe the sun to be a god are astray..... 3. Those who believe the moon to be a goddess are astray..... 7, 1: Those who believe man to be a god are astray..... 4. The Chaldeans therefore, contrary to their wishes, are very far astray, for they revere the perishable elements and lifeless statues, and are unconscious of the fact that they are inventing gods out of them.

PAUSANIAS.

(wrote 143-176 A. D.)

Description of Greece (ed. Hitzig and Bluemner) III, 16 (6), 8 (C. 61): The Tauric goddess preserves this title even to this day, with the result that the Cappadocians who border upon the Euxine claim that they possess her statue, as do also the Lydian who have a temple to Artemis Anaitis.

*ib.* 20, (5), 4 (C. 61): This (sc. the summit of Taÿgetus) they call sacred to the Sun, and upon it they sacrifice to the Sun horses along with other animals. I am aware that this belief is held also by the Persians.

*ib.* V, 27, 1 ff. (C. 61-62-63): Here also are the offerings dedicated by Phormis of Mænalus, who departed from Mænalus and crossed over to Sicily and went to the court of Gelo the son of Dinomenes; for him and later for Hiero, the brother of Gelo, he performed many feats of valour on the field of battle and in consequence prospered so well that he made these dedications at Olympia and others to Apollo at Delphi. 2. Those at Olympia were two horses with two riders, one of the latter standing beside each of the horses. The first horse and rider were the work of Dionysius of Argos, the other pair were by Simon of Aegina. On the flank of the first horse is an inscription, the first lines of which are not metrical: they run: "Phormis, by birth an Arcadian from Mænalus, but now of Syracuse, made this dedication." (2) 3. This is the horse upon which, according to the Eleans, the hippomanes lies. Among other evidences of the work of a wise Magian, the things that happened to this horse are not the least. It is far inferior in size and beauty to the other horses which stand in the Altis. In addition its tail has been lopped off, which makes it all the more unsightly. Male horses are roused by it to sexual excitement not only in the spring but at all times of year. 4. When they break their halters or escape from their grooms they rush into the Altis and mount the horse with a greater display of passionate excitement than they would show in the presence of a live mare, even if she were very beautiful and accustomed to be covered. Their hoofs slip off its sides, but still they continue, neighing the more loudly and leaping upon it with increasing effort, until they are dragged off by the stern compulsion of the whip; unless this is applied there is no means of getting them to leave the bronze animal. (3) 5. I know also of another marvel, in Lydia, which I have seen myself, and which, while it is different from this one of the horse of Phormis, like it is due to the wisdom of the Magians. Those of the Lydians who are popularly called Persians have temples, at the city called Hierocæsarea and at Hypæpa. In each of these temples there is an inner chamber, and in this an altar upon which are some ashes of a colour unlike that of ordinary ashes. 6. A Magian enters the chamber, bringing dry wood which he places on the altar. After this he first puts a tiara upon his head and next intones an invocation to some god or other. The invocation is in a barbarian tongue, and quite unintelligible to Greeks. While intoning he peruses a

book. This, without the application of a light, inevitably causes the wood to catch fire and break out into a bright flame. I need not go into further details.

*ib.* VII, 6 (4), 6 (C. 63): The Lydians dedicated a bronze statue of this Adrastus in front of the temple of the Persian Artemis, etc.

#### NICOMACHUS OF GERASA.

(flourished about 150 A.D.)

*Theologumena Arithmetica* (ed. Ast) 7 (G. 256; C. 63): From the second book of the *Arithmetic* by Nicomachus of Gerasa.....To the most eminent of the Babylonians as well as to Ostanes and Zoroaster the stellar spheres are principally known as "flocks," at least so far as the individual spheres, apart from their material dimensions, have complete motions around their respective centres. Or it may be that, influenced by their very writings on Nature and judging from the bond which somehow exists among the spheres and from their community of motion, they call "angels" through the incorrect insertion of a gamma, those bodies which on these same grounds they designate in their sacred books as "flocks." Wherefore the stars and dæmons that have their origin in each case in these "angels" are in like manner termed "angels" and "archangels," which are seven in number; hence the number seven is, by this token, most truly termed the "gospel."

#### APPIAN.

(wrote about 160 A.D.)

*Mithridatic War* (ed. Mendelssohn) 66 (C. 63-64): (Mithridates) offered the traditional sacrifice to Zeus, lord of armies, upon a high mountain the summit of which he made higher by piling wood upon it. The kings place the first logs upon it, and when they have surrounded it with another and smaller pile, they place upon the upper one milk, honey, wine, olive-oil, and all kinds of incense, and when they have set on the lower one cereals and meats as a meal for those present, they set fire to the wood. (One may compare the kind of sacrifice which is performed by the Persian kings at Pasargadæ.) Its great size causes it to be visible, when alight, a thousand stades away, and it is said to be impossible to approach the spot for several days, as the air is so hot.



*ib.* 70 (C. 64): At the beginning of.....spring, having made an attack upon the fleet, he offered the customary sacrifice to Zeus, lord of armies, and let down into the sea a chariot drawn by white horses, as an offering to Poseidon: then he proceeded by forced marches in the direction of Paphlagonia.

#### JUNIANUS JUSTINUS.

(wrote between 160 and 300 A.D.)

Epitome of the *Historia Philippica* of Pomponius Trogus (ed. Rühl) I, 1, 9 (G. 237; C. 64): His last war was the one that he fought with Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, who is said to have been the first discoverer of the magic arts and a most studious observer of the origin of the world as well as of the movements of the constellations. After Zoroaster was slain, (Ninus) himself departed this life, leaving a youthful son, Ninys, and a wife, Semiramis.

*ib.* I, 9, 11 (C. 64): In Persia the person of the sovereign is withheld from the public gaze, a tribute to his supposed exalted majesty.

*ib.* 10, 5 (C. 64): The Persians hold the sun to be the only god and they say that horses are consecrated to the same deity.

*ib.* VI, 2, 12f. (C. 64): Conon, after repeatedly importuning the king by letter, and without any result, proceeded in person to court, but was not allowed to enter the presence of or to address the monarch, because he refused to do obeisance to him in the Persian fashion.

*ib.* XI, 15, 10 (C. 64): (Darius): He tendered to Alexander the only gratitude possible to a dying man and prayed the heavenly and earthly powers and the royal gods to grant victory and empire over the whole world.

*ib.* 15 (C. 64): (Alexander) gave orders that the body should be given a royal funeral and that his remains should be conveyed to the tombs of his ancestors.

*ib.* XII, 7, 1 (C. 64): (Alexander) next adopted a custom of the arrogant Persian kings and gave orders that all his subjects should not salute but should do obeisance to him. He had at first hesitated to make this rule, for fear that it would cause all his other measures also to meet with more opposition.

*ib.* XIX, 1, 10 ff (C. 64-65): Meanwhile an embassy from Darius, the King of Persia, arrived at Carthage with an edict which forbade the inhabitants to sacrifice human victims and to eat the flesh of dogs, 11. and gave them the king's orders to cremate the bodies of their dead instead of burying them.

*ib.* XLI, 3, 1 (C. 65): Each man has several wives, for they like having more than one object for their passion. There is no crime which they visit with heavier penalties than adultery.

*ib.* 3, 5f. (C. 65): The common method of disposing of the dead is to leave their bodies to be torn by birds or dogs; when the bones have been stripped of flesh they are buried. 6. All are studiously pious in the performance of their rites and in their attention to the cult of their gods.

*ib.* 3, 10 (C. 65): They give free rein to their lusts, but are moderate in the use of food. Neither their statements nor their promises can be relied upon except in so far as they consider it expedient to tell the truth or honour their engagements.

#### POLYÆNUS.

(wrote 162 A.D.)

*Strategemata* (ed. Melber) VII, 11, 7 (C. 65): When the Egyptians refused to tolerate the brutal government of the satrap Aryandes and revolted because of it, Darius in person made the journey through the desert of Arabia and reached Memphis. It happened that just then the Egyptians were lamenting the disappearance of Apis. Darius proclaimed a reward of a hundred talents of gold for the man who should recover Apis, and the populace, in admiration of his piety, seceded from the insurgents and surrendered themselves to Darius.

#### TATIAN.

(wrote about 170 A. D.)

Oration to the Greeks (ed. Goodspeed) 1, 1 (C. 65): The people of Telmessus invented the art of divination by means of dreams.....the Persians discovered magic.

*ib.* 28 (C. 65): The Greeks disapprove of the practice of having intercourse with one's mother, but the Magians in Persia consider it perfectly honourable.

## MAXIMUS OF TYRE.

(wrote under Commodus)

Philosophy (ed. Hobein) II, 4 (C. 66): The.....barbarians, while all alike wise about god, differ in the representations of him which they have made. The Persians consider him to be fire, the glory of which is transient, and which is gluttonous and insatiable. They sacrifice to fire, with offerings of the things that nourish it, and praying 'Lord Fire, eat.'

## CELSUS.

(wrote about 178 A.D.)

Quotation in Origen: Against Celsus (ed. Koetschau) V, 41, 609 (C. 66): (Celsus).....says.....that not even the doctrine of heaven.....held by the Jews is peculiar to them, but—not to mention the details—was maintained long ago by the Persians also, as Herodotus, among other authorities, points out.

*ib.* VII, 62, 738 (C. 66): They cannot endure the sight of temples and altars and statues.....that.....the Persians object to them is recorded by Herodotus in the following passage (see Herod. I, 131, p. 3 *supra*).....perhaps.....because we are to deny even that there are images of god, on the ground that god has a different shape, as is held also by the Persians. They do not observe that they confute themselves when they say that "the god made man" in his own "image," the fact being that there is only a resemblance in form.

See also under Origen.

## ATHENÆUS.

(wrote after 193 A.D.)

Dipnosophists (ed. Kaibel) V, 63, 220 C (C. 66): Antisthenes.....in the second book of his history of the Cyruses, reviles Alcibiades, saying that as well in his relations with women as in his general manner of living he flouted all the restraints of law. He alleges, indeed, that, like the Persians, he had intercourse with his mother, his sister, and his daughter.

*ib.* X, 45, 434d (C. 66): Darius....., who put down the Magians, had inscribed on his tomb: 'I was able to drink

great quantities of wine, and carried it well.' Ctesias says that among the Indians the king is not allowed to drink to excess. In Persia the king may do this on a single day only, namely, the day of their sacrifice to Mithras.

*ib.* XII, 9, 515a (C. 66-67): Agathocles....in the third book of his work on Cyzicus says that the so-called golden water exists in Persia, and that it consists of seventy pools, from which only the king and his eldest son may drink, the penalty being death for any one else who does so.

*ib.* XIII, 3, 556b (C. 67): In Persia.....the queen tolerates the king's numerous concubines because the king rules his wife as a master does his slave, and further because, according to Dino's History of Persia, the concubines worship her. At any rate they do obeisance to her.

*ib.* XIV, 44, 639c (C. 67): Berosus.....in the third book of his History of Babylon says that the festival called Sacæa is celebrated in that city for five days in the month Loos, beginning with the sixteenth; and that during this period it is customary for masters to be ruled by their slaves. one of them, who is called 'zoganes,' taking charge of the house and wearing a robe similar to that of the king. Ctesias also, in the second book of his Persian History, mentions this festival.

#### CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

(lived from about 150 A.D. to after 211 A.D.)

Protrepticus (ed. Stählin) 4, 52, 6 (C. 67): If it is true that some, Cambyases or Darius or other madman, made such attempts, and that some one killed the Egyptian Apis, I feel amusement at his having killed their god, but indignation if he did so for the sake of gain.

*ib.* 5, 65, 1 (C. 67): The Magians.....in Persia pay honour to fire, as do many of the other inhabitants of Asia, and also the Macedonians, according to Diogenes in the first book of his History of Persia. Why should I instance the Sauromatæ, whom Nymphodorus in his 'Customs of the Barbarians' records as revering fire, or the Persians and the Medes and the Magians? Dino says that they sacrifice in the open air, believing that the gods are revealed only in fire and water.

*ib.* 3 (C. 67): Berosus shows, however, in the third volume of his work on Chaldea, that after a long period of time they

began to adore anthropomorphic statues, this practice having been introduced by Artaxerxes the son of Darius and grandson of Ochus, who was the first to set up statues of Aphrodite Anaitis, which he did at Babylon, Susa, the two Ecbatanas (in Persia and Bactria), Damascus, and Sardis, thus suggesting to those communities the duty of worshipping them.

*Pædagogus* I, 7, 55, 1 (C. 68): We have not failed to give consideration to the Persian institution of the royal tutors, as they are called, who are four in number and chosen by the Persian kings out of the whole Persian people according to merit and given charge of their sons. But their sons learn only to use the bow, and as soon as they have reached maturity have sexual relations with their sisters, mothers, and wives, not to mention innumerable concubines, exercising their sexual functions with the assiduity of the wild boar.

*Stromata* (Ed. Stählin) I, 15, 69, 6 (G. 240; C. 68): Now (Democritus) visited Babylon, Persia and Egypt to study under the Magians and the priests. Pythagoras was an ardent pupil of Zoroaster, the Persian Magian. Adherents of the school of Prodicus boast that they possess this man's apocryphal writings.

*ib.* 70, 1 (C. 68): Alexander in his work on Pythagorean symbols relates that Pythagoras studied with Zaratas, the Assyrian.

*ib.* 21, 133, 2 (G. 240; C. 68): The great Pythagoras always acted on the basis of foreknowledge; likewise Abaris the Hyperborean, Aristas of Proconnesus, Epimenides of Crete who went to Sparta, Zoroaster the Median, Empedocles of Acragas, and Phormio, the Laconian.

*ib.* III, 6, 48, 3 (C. 68): Why, even the Magians are careful to abstain from wine, the flesh of animals, and sexual intercourse, when they are worshipping angels or dæmons.

*ib.* V, 14, 103, 2-5 (G. 240; C. 68): This same author (Plato), in the tenth book of his Republic, mentions Er, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth, who was identical with Zoroaster. Indeed, Zoroaster himself records: "Zoroaster, the son of Armenius, a native of Pamphylia, who was killed in war, wrote this account of what he learned from the gods when he was in Hades." Now Plato asserts that this Zoroaster, after lying for twelve days on the pyre, came back to life. Plato is alluding partly to his resurrection, partly to the fact that the road by which the souls ascend lies through the twelve signs of



the Zodiac. He himself says that the same road leads downward again to birth.

BARDESANES.

(lived about 154—223 A. D.)

Quoted by Eusebius: *Præparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford) VI, 10, 16, 275 CD. (C. 69): Among the Persians it was customary for men to marry their daughters, sisters, and mothers. It was not only in that country and in that region that the Persians formed these unholy unions; even those who lived out of Persia, who are called Magousai practise the same abomination and pass on the same customs and habits to their children. Their descendants are numerous to the present day in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia.

DIO CASSIUS.

(lived about 155-235 A. D.)

History of Rome (ed. Melber) XXXVI, 48, 1 f. (C. 69): Mithridates, when....certain of his generals had subdued the land of Anaitis which belonged to Armenia and was sacred to some deity, after whom it was named, 2.....feared, etc.

*ib.* 53, 5 (C. 69): The.....old man took over the treasures, and, having divided his army into three divisions, he passed the winter in person in the land of Anaitis, on the banks of the river Cynus.

*ib.* (ed. Dindorf) LXIII, 5, 1 f (C. 69): Tiridates....spoke .....as follows: '.....I came to you, my god, to do obeisance to you even as I do unto Mithras; and I will be whatever you decree; for you are my fortune and my fate.'

*ib.* 7, 2 (C. 69): Vologeses, although repeatedly summoned refused to go to Nero, and finally, annoyed by his importunity, sent back a message, in which he said: "It is much easier for you than for me to make this long sea-voyage."

TERTULLIAN.

(flourished under Septimius Severus and Caracalla)

Apologia (ed. Oehler) 9 (C. 69): Ctesias says that the Persians have intimate relations with their mothers.

*ib.* 16 (C. 69-70): We may perhaps be thought of like the Persians, though we do not adore a picture of the sun painted on canvas, but the real sun; for we have the sun itself in its disk everywhere with us.

Ad Nationes (ed. Reifferscheid and Wissowa) I. 16 (C. 70): Ctesias affirms, without qualification, that the Persians indulge freely in intercourse with their mothers, as conscious of what they are doing as they are strange to any feeling of horror at it.

Adversus Marcionem (ed. Kroymann) I, 13 (C. 70): To.... say something also of that blot upon this world.....the same teachers of philosophy, whose subtleties are the source of all heresies, have proclaimed as gods certain substances which are entirely unworthy of the title.....for, like the majority of physicists they feared.....that the substances in the universe, which are worshipped by the Magians in Persia, the hierophants in Egypt and the gymnosophists in India, and which, forsooth, are so very august, would to some extent cease to be regarded as gods.

#### MELITO OF SARDIS.

In the Corpus Apologetarum IX, p. 425: Now his (*i.e.*, Hercules') lust was intense, like that of his friend, Zoradus\* the Persian.....Moreover, what shall I record concerning Nebo in Mabug? *ib.*: All the priests in Mabug know that he is the image of Orpheus, the Thrasian magian, just as Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, the Persian magian. These two magians practised the art of magic at a well that was in a forest in Mabug and in which dwelt an unclean spirit. This spirit used to work harm and sought to prevent the passage of anyone who was endeavouring to cross that district in which the citadel of Mabug is now situated. Moreover, these same magians in accordance with the secret potency inherent in their magic art, laid upon Simis, the daughter of Hadad, the task of drawing water from the sea and pouring it into the well that the spirit might not come forth and do its evil work.

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\* This may be a reference to Zoroaster, although Melito seems to regard him as a different person from Zaradusht mentioned in the next passage.

## SEXTUS EMPIRICUS.

(flourished at the end of the second century A. D.)

Pyrrhonis Hypotyposes (ed. Mutschmann) I, 152 (C. 70): This habit.....we oppose to the others, first as a law, when we say that among us sexual intercourse with one's mother is forbidden, while in Persia this form of marriage is a custom.

*ib.* III, 205 (C. 70): The Persians....., and among them especially the Magians, who are reputed to practise the philosophic life, marry their mothers.

*ib.* 228 (C. 70): They say.....that the Persians impale their dead and embalm them in carbonate of soda, after which they wrap them tightly in linen bandages.

## NUMENIUS.

(flourished at the same time)

Quoted by Eusebius: *Præparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford) IX, 7, 1, 411 bc. (C. 70-71): I will lay before you the following statements of the Pythagorean philosopher himself, I mean Numenius, in the first book of his treatise, *On the Good*: "For this purpose it will be necessary to go back, with explanations and indications of the evidence adducible from Plato, and relate what is said to the sayings of Pythagoras, and also to invoke the most important peoples and cite their cults and doctrines and also their foundations, as Plato does. I speak of those instituted by the Brahmans, the Jews, the Magians, and the Egyptians."

## PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

(wrote about 200 A. D.)

Arrian's 'Anabasis' and 'Indian War.' (ed. Mueller, in Deubner, *Arriani anabasis et Indica*) I, 36 (C. 71): I myself, the divine Darius, King of Kings, kinsman of the gods, who share the throne of Mithras and the rising of the sun, order and command you, Alexander, my slave, as follows.

*ib.* 38 (C. 71): From Alexander the king, son of Philip the king and of Olympias, to the great king of Persia, King of Kings, who shares the throne of the gods and the rising of the sun, greeting. It is disgraceful for Darius, the mighty king of Persia, who boasts such mighty power and who shares the throne of the gods and the rising of the sun, to fall to the mean condition of a slave to a mere mortal such as Alexander.

*ib.* 39 (C. 71): To the great god, King Darius, greeting.... Darius, the great god, King of Kings, to all his satraps and generals, greeting.

*ib.* II. 14 (C. 71): Alexander.....when the foreign delegates were all assembled, came within a little of doing obeisance to the person of Darius, believing him to be a god who had come down from Olympus and adorned himself in the robes of the barbarians.

*ib.* 18 (C. 71): Similarly.....he saw also the tomb of Cyrus, which was under the open sky, a tower of twelve stories, in the topmost of which Cyrus lay in a golden bath. He was covered with glass, through which his hair and indeed his whole body was visible.

*ib.* III. 34 (C. 71): The.....Persians fought the Macedonians with the object of recovering Alexander and proclaimed him to be Mithras.† The Macedonians made a counter-claim, wishing to take him back to Macedonia.

#### ÆLIAN.

(lived about 175-235 A. D.)

*Varia Historia* (ed. Hercher) I, 22 (C. 72): These were the gifts regularly presented by the king (of Persia) to ambassadors who came to his court, whether they came from Greek or from barbarian states.

*ib.* 31 (C. 72): This custom of the Persians is observed by them with as much care as any. When the king proceeds to Persia, all the Persians bring presents to him, each according to his own ability. As they are engaged in agriculture, being yeoman—farmers whose labour is on the land—they do not offer him very expensive gifts, while avoiding objects of no value at all. Some bring him cattle or sheep, others corn or wine. When he passes with his train each man lays his gifts before him, for so they are called, and as such they are regarded by the king. Men in even more humble circumstances bring milk, dates, cheese, fruits in season, or first fruits of the other products of the country.

*ib.* 32 (C. 72): Artaxerxes.....said.....‘water is the best thing of all.’

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† reading ἀνηγόρευσιν

*ib.* 33 (C. 72): Omises brought a very large mulberry in a basket to Artaxerxes, the King, when he was travelling through the land of Persia. Wherefore the king, lost in amazement at its size.....sent him princely gifts, adding the remark: "By Mithras, this man by industrious care such as this will be able, in my judgment, to make a great city out of a small one."

*ib.* II, 14 (C. 72): This Xerxes made himself ridiculous by the contempt he showed for the sea and the land, the works of Zeus, and by making a road over the water and a channel through a mountain, and further by the slavish veneration which he paid to a plane-tree. At least, the story runs that in Lydia he saw an immense plane-tree, to which on that day he paid no attention whatever, using the vacant space about it as a place wherein to rest his animals. But later he affixed to it expensive ornaments, honouring its branches with necklaces and bracelets, and left behind a man to look after it, as though to guard and protect a loved object.

*ib.* 17 (C. 72-73): The wise Magians in Persia know the art of divination as well as all the other subjects which it is right for them to know. They actually predicted, by means of certain mystic signs, the barbarous treatment which Ochus meted out to his subjects and the bloodthirstiness of his character. For when, on the death of his father Artaxerxes, Ochus succeeded to the throne of Persia, the Magians instructed one of the eunuchs who were standing by to be careful to notice what food Ochus tried first from the table that was set before him. The eunuch standing at his side and watching for this, Ochus stretched out his hands and with the right took up one of the knives that were set before him, while with the left hand he drew towards him the largest loaf on the table, and then putting some meat on it, cut it up and ate ravenously. The Magians, when they heard this, made the two predictions that follow: that during his reign there would be good crops and many murders.

*ib.* IV, 8 (C. 73): The Egyptians called Ochus, in their native tongue Onos (ass) mocking his dull wit by comparing him to the animal which showed the same weakness. In revenge for this Ochus seized Apis (the bull) by force and sacrificed it to Onos (the ass).

*ib.* VI, 8 (C. 73): He also (sc. Ochus), when in Egypt, slew Apis, as Cambyses had done before him.



*ib.* IX, 3 (C. 73): First in order.....were five-hundred Persians, the so-called Apple-Bearers, standing within the gates round it (sc. the tent of Alexander).

*ib.* 39 (C. 73): Who would not agree that these lovers were ridiculous and eccentric? First Xerxes, for falling in love with a plane-tree, etc.

*ib.* XII, 1 (C. 73): (Cyrus) was about to drink according to the Persian fashion. For the Persians, after taking their fill of food, relax themselves freely with wine and in drinking healths, getting ready for their drink as though to meet an adversary.

The Nature of Animals VI, 39 (C. 73): The fathers..... kill most of their male offspring when young, to prevent their covering their mothers, as they would if allowed to reach the age of puberty. Such a relation appears, indeed, to be a pollution and an abomination even as between irrational creatures. Yet, O Persians, Cyrus and Parysatis thought it honourable and lawful, and Cyrus loved his mother evilly, and was loved by her in like manner.

*ib.* X, 28 (C. 73-74): The Busiritæ and Egyptian Abydos and the city of the Lycus loathe the sound of the trumpet as having some resemblance to the braying of an ass. Besides, all who are devoted to the worship of Sarapis, hate the ass. Ochus the Persian knew this, as is shown by the fact that he put Apis to death and deified the ass; for he wanted to wound the feelings of the Egyptians as deeply as he could. But in the end the sacred bull was avenged, when Ochus met with a fate which he thoroughly deserved and which was not less terrible than that suffered by Cambyases, the first to commit this impious act.

*ib.* XII, 23 (C. 74): In the land of Elam there is a temple to Anaitis, where tame lions welcome and fawn upon those who pass into the temple.

Fragments (ed. Hercher) 35 (C. 74): He (Ochus) sacrificed the he-goat at Mende, which was sacred to Pan, and, misguided man that he was, had an elaborate meal of its flesh served up to him, and ate his fill of it.

*ib.* 37 (C. 74): Ochus, having put Apis to death, desired to hand it over to the cooks to be cut up and served to him for dinner.

## PSEUDO-LUCIAN.

(wrote in 212 or 213 A. D.)

Works of. Lucian (ed. Jacobitz), Makrobioi 4 (C. 74): It is recorded that certain classes of men are long-lived in consequence of the kind of life they lead, as for example.....the so-called Magians, an order of seers who are dedicated to the service of the gods, and who are found among the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chorasmians, the Areians, the Sacæ, the Medes and many other barbarian peoples. They have strong constitutions and live to a great age, for their profession as Magians makes it incumbent upon them to observe strict rules of life.

## DIOGENES OF LAËRTE.

(wrote under Alexander Severus and his successors)

Lives of the Philosophers (ed. Huebner) Introduction 1, 1 (C. 74): Some authorities hold that philosophical speculation was derived from the barbarians, on the ground of the rise of the Magians among.....the Persians.

*ib.* 2, 2 (G. 241; C. 74): Hermodorus, of the Platonic school, states in his treatise on mathematics that the period from the Magians, over whom Zoroaster the Persian ruled, to the capture of Troy was five (two MSS read six) thousand years. Xanthus, the Lydian, counts six thousand years between Zoroaster and the Greek expedition of Xerxes, claiming that a large number of Magians followed him in succession—the several Ostanēs, Astrampsychi, Gobryæ and Pazatæ, down to the subjugation of the Persians by Alexander.

*ib.* 5f. 6f. (C. 74-5): ....saying that philosophy originated with the barbarians. And they describe its character among the several peoples. And they say that....the Magians are engaged in the service of the gods and in sacrifices and prayers, it being believed that their prayers alone are heard; and that they give an account of the substance and origin of the gods, whom they declare to be fire and earth and water, condemning wooden images and above all those who say that there are male and female gods. 7. They are also said to hold discourse on justice, and to regard cremation as impious, but not to think intercourse with one's mother or sister as illegitimate. This is the account given by Sotio in his twenty-third book. It is said, further, that they practise divination and prediction, and that the gods appear to them and speak, and also that the air is full of forms which rise in exhalations of vapour and are visible

to the eyes of the sharp-sighted. They forbid ornaments and the wearing of gold. They dress in white, sleep on straw, and feed on vegetables, cheese and inferior bread. They carry a reed-staff, which, it is said, they used to stick into the cheese, which they lifted up and ate.

*ib.* 8-9 (G. 241-242; C. 75): According to Aristotle in his treatise on Magic, and to Dino in the fifth book of his histories, (the Magians) were not acquainted with sorcery. Dino also says that "Zoroaster" means "one who sacrifices to the stars," a statement in which Hermodorus agrees. Aristotle holds in his first book on philosophy that the Magians were older than the Egyptians; that there are two independent powers, a good daemon and a bad one, the former named Zeus and Oromasdes, the latter Hades and Arimanius. The same assertion is likewise made by Hermippus in his first book on the Magians, by Eudoxus in his *Periodus*, and by Theopompus in the eighth chapter of his *Philippics*, 9, this last writer stating that according to the Magians men will come to life again and be immortal and that existing things will continue to exist under their present names. This assertion is supported by Eudemus of Rhodes. Hecataeus records besides that according to the Magians the gods had been created. Clearchus of Soli in his book on education holds the gymnosophists to be descendants of the Magians, while some claim that the Jews are also. In addition, those who have written the history of the Magians blame Herodotus, insisting that Xerxes would never have shot arrows at the sun or sunk fetters into the sea, when he had learnt from the Magians that these were gods; they allow on the other hand that it was quite natural that he should throw down the statues.

*ib.* II, 5, 24, 54 (C. 75): Aristotle.....says that a certain Magian came to Athens from Syria, and, in addition to passing other severe judgments upon Socrates, actually foretold that he would die a violent death.

*ib.* IX, 11, 1 f., 61 (C. 76): Pyrrho.....was a pupil of Bryso, son of Stilpo, as we are told by Alexander in his *Chronicles*; later following Anaxarchus everywhere, and associating with the gymnosophists in India and also with the Magians.

#### HIPPOLYTUS.

(died 236 or 237 A. D.)

Refutation of all Heresies (Ed. Wendland) I, 2, 12-14, (G. 240-241, under Origen; C. 76): Diodorus.....the Eretrian

and Aristoxenus the musician state that Pythagoras visited Zaratas, the Chaldæan, who taught him the doctrine that for all things there are two primal causes. Father and Mother. The Father is light and the Mother darkness, the parts of light being warmth, dryness, lightness, and quick movement, whereas those of darkness are cold, moisture, weight and slowness. Of these the whole world is made, that is, of male and female. 13. They say that the world is constituted according to the laws of musical harmony, because the sun's full period is harmonic. Concerning the things that are derived from earth and from the universe these authors claim that Zaratas sets forth the following doctrine: there are two dæmons, one celestial, the other chthonic; the chthonic, which is water, brought about the creation of things on the earth; the celestial, which is fire, partakes of the air and is hot and cold. Hence it is maintained that none of these destroys or defiles the soul, for these dæmons constitute the essential nature of all things. 14. It is said that the eating of beans is forbidden because Zaratas declared the bean was already in existence when at the very beginning of the universe the earth was still in the process of being compounded and formed.

*ib.* IV, 43, 3 (C. 76): Those.....Persians who think they have attained to a close insight into the truth maintained that god was shining, a light suspended in the air.

*ib.* V, 14, 8 (G. 241, under Origen; C. 76): The right hand power exercises authority over fruits; ignorance called this *Men* in whose image were created Bumegas, Ostanes, Hermes Trismegistus, Curites, Petosirus, Zodarium, Berosus, Astrampsyclus, Zoroastris.

*ib.* VI, 23, 2 (G. 241, under Origen; C. 76): Zaratas, the teacher of Pythagoras, called unity Father, and the number two, Mother.

#### ORIGEN.

(lived about 184—250 A. D.)

Against Celsus (ed. Koetschan) I, 5, 324 (C. 77): He (Celsus) reports.....that the Persians also hold this opinion (sc. that they do not believe in gods that are fashioned by the hand of man), and he quotes Herodotus to this effect.

*ib.* 16, 335 (G. 240; C. 77): Consider then if (Celsus) in his mischief-making did not promptly exclude Moses also

from the list of wise men, claiming that Linus, Musæus, Orpheus, Pherecydes, Zoroaster the Persian, and Pythagoras had made distinction among men of this class and had introduced into books their own teachings which have been preserved to this day.

*ib.* 24, 342 (C. 77) : If.....we can.....establish the nature of real names, some of which are used by the wise men of Egypt, or the more erudite of the Magians in Persia or the Brahmins or Samaneans among the Indian philosophers.....then we shall say that the word Sabaoth.....denotes, not anything ordinary or created, but something of mystic and divine import.

*ib.* V, 27, 597 (C. 77) : Let any one who will.....tell.....us.....if the Scythian laws—come, speak!—about the burial of their fathers are right, or the laws of the Persians, when they do not prevent mothers from marrying their own sons or fathers their own daughters.

*ib.* 44, 611 (C. 77-78) : Celsus.....considers.....that the doctrine of heaven is identical with the doctrine of god and says that the Persians perform sacrifices to Zeus in a manner similar to that of the Jews, both peoples ascending the highest mountains for the purpose. He does not observe that the Jews, just as they knew one god, in like manner knew one holy house of prayer, one altar for the sacrifice of burnt-offerings, one censer for the burning of incense and one high-priest of God. So that there was no resemblance between the rites of the Jews and the Persians, when the latter ascended the highest mountains, which are numerous enough, and there performed sacrifices which were entirely unlike those ordained by the law of Moses. For in obedience to that law the Jewish priests worshipped "the heavenly powers by tokens and in secret," setting out in secret the intention of the law with regard to the sacrifices and the objects of which these sacrifices were tokens. The Persians therefore are free to call the whole circle of the heaven Zeus ; but we maintain that the heaven is neither Zeus nor God, for we know that even one of those who are inferior to God ascended into regions above the heavens and all sensible nature.

*ib.* VI, 80, 693 (C. 78) : Celsus classes the Magians as one of the most inspired peoples. It was their "magic"—a word derived from their name—which has gained a footing among the other peoples also, to the ruin and destruction of all who practise it....The Persians, who marry their mothers and have intercourse with their sisters, are regarded by Celsus as an inspired race of men.



*ib.* VII, 63, 739 (C. 78) : The Persians cannot endure the sight of temples, altars, or statues.

*ib.* 64, 739 (C. 78) : Just as....this one thing, abstinence from adultery, though it has the appearance of being one thing, is in reality found to take numerous forms, according to the doctrines and purposes of those who observe it, so also, among those who abjure the worship of the divine at altars or statues, or in temples, the Scythians or the Libyan Nomades or the unbelieving Seres or the Persians do this for reasons different from those which actuate the Christians or Jews in their intolerance of this alleged form of worshipping the divine.

*ib.* 65, 740 (C. 78) : I have dealt above with the refusal of the Persians to build temples and with their worship of the sun and of the works of God — all of which is forbidden to us. .... This then, added to what was said before, will suffice as a criticism of the Persian people, who abjure altars and statues, but worship " the creation in the form of the creator."

CYPRIAN.

(died 258 A.D.)

Idols are not Gods (ed. Hartel) 6 (C 78) : Ostanēs both denies that the form of the true God can be seen, and affirms that real angels attend his throne.

PHILOSTRATUS.

(wrote under Philip the Arab)

Life of Apollonius (ed. Kayser) I, 18 (C.78) : He....had a high opinion of the Magians, who inhabit Babylon and Susa.

*ib.* 31 (C. 79) : When he (Apollonius) approached....and saluted him, the king (of Persia) addressed him in Greek, bidding him join him in performing a sacrifice ; for he was on the point of sacrificing a white horse of the best Nisæan breed to the Sun, and had decked out the animal with trappings as though for a procession. Apollonius, however, said in reply : " O king, do you make sacrifice after your fashion, and allow me to do so in mine."

Lives of the Sophists (ed. Kayser) A' i'. 209 (C 79) : Protagoras....the sophist of Abdera was a pupil of Democritus in that city, and associated with the Magians from Persia at the

time of Xerxes' expedition against Greece. For his father Maeander, one of the richest men in Thrace, entertained Xerxes at his home and by his favour was able to put his son in contact with the Magians, for the latter, unless with the king's permission, do not give instruction except to men of the Persian race. I consider the heterodoxy of Protagoras, which led him to profess agnosticism with regard to the existence of gods, to be due to this Persian education. For the Magians, though they invoke the gods before practising their secret rites, undermine the open profession of belief in the divine through their disinclination to appear to owe their power to it.

CAIUS JULIUS SOLINUS POLYHISTOR.

(lived about 250 A.D.)

(G 244): The first cry of the newly born is a wail, for the reason that the sensation of pleasure does not come until the fortieth day. Thus we have heard it said that only one human being laughed in the first hour after birth, namely, Zoroaster who was afterwards very highly skilled in the noblest arts.

Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium (ed. Mommsen) 55, 2 (C 79): Next, this region extends as far as the stronghold off Fidasarcida, which is occupied by the Magians; in it is the tomb of Cyrus.

PORPHYRY.

(born 233 A.D.; died about 304 A.D.)

Vita Pythagoræ (ed. Nauck) 6 (C 79): It is said that he heard the teaching of the Magians and adopted their opinions as to the worship of the gods and the rest of their doctrines as to the conduct of life.

*ib.* 6 (G 242; C 79-80): At Babylon Pythagoras associated with the Chaldeans and visited Zaratus by whom he was cleansed of the pollutions of his earlier life and received instruction as to the source whence zealots might obtain sanctification; he also learned from him his theory of nature and how the universe had its beginning. Indeed, through his travels among these nations, Pythagoras came into contact with the greater part of knowledge.

*ib.* 41 (C. 80): He gave the following advice: that men should, above all, observe the truth, as this was the only thing in which men could imitate god. For, as he learnt from the

Magians, the god, whom they call Horomasdes, in his bodily form resembled light, in his soul, truth.

De Antro Nympharum (ed. Nauck), 6 (G. 242—243 ; C. 80) : In this manner the Persians also initiate a novice by conducting him down the road by which souls descend and back again up the returning road ; they call the place a cave. At first, Eubulus tells us, Zoroaster dedicated to the worship of Mithras, the maker and father of all things, a natural cave among the mountains hard by Persia, a recess embellished with flowers and containing springs of water ; for the cave suggested to him the form of the world that Mithras created, while its contents, in respect of their relative situation, symbolized the component parts and climates of the world. After Zoroaster the practice of conducting the holy rites in caves and grottoes whether natural or artificial became general among the other peoples also.

De Abstinencia (ed. Nauck) IV. 16 ( C.80) : In... Persia those who are expert in the love of the divine, and who attend to its worship, are called Magians ; for this, in the native tongue is what is denoted by the word "Magian". This class is so important, and so highly esteemed, among the Persians, that even Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had inscribed on his tomb, in addition to everything else, a mention of the fact that he had taught the magic art. According to Eubulus, who wrote an account of Mithras in many volumes, the Magians are divided into three orders—the first of which, comprising the most erudite, will not eat or kill any living thing, but cling to the early practice of abstaining from living beings ; the second partake of animal flesh but will not kill any domesticated animal ; even the third order, so far like the other two, will not touch any and every animal. For all three orders believe that metempsychosis is true in the case of primordial existences, which belief they seem to illustrate in the mysteries of Mithras.

De Vita Plotini (Plotini Enneades, ed. Volkmann) 16 (G 243 ; C 80-81) : In his time (*i.e.*, of Plotinus) there were many Christians as well as other sectaries, such as followers of Adelphius and Aquilinus, who had been won over from the ancient philosophy ; these acquired vast numbers of the works of Alexander the Libyan, of Philocomus, of Demostratus, and of Lydus, and by professing to give revelations of Zoroaster, Zostrianus, Nicotheus, Allogenes, Mesus and others of that order deceived many persons and were themselves deceived, since even Plato did not come near to probing fully the depths of intelligible

being. Hence in his discussions Plotinus put forth many refutations of these views, but in a book which we in our writings have employed against the Gnostics left it to us to come to our own conclusions as to all other matters. Amelius in attacking Zostrianus' treatise composed as many as forty books. I, Porphyry, also have confuted Zoroaster's work, essaying to show that it is spurious, of recent origin, and invented by the founders of the sect so as to make it appear that the doctrines which they chose to revere were those of the ancient Zoroaster.

#### ARNOBIUS.

(wrote under Diocletian)

*Adversus Nationes* (ed. Reifferscheid, I, 5 (G. 2-42; C 81): Did this unpopularity of ours arise from the fact that the Assyrians and Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster, fought not only with weapons, and armies, but also with the aid of the Magians and the occult teachings of the Chaldeans?

*ib.* 52 (G 242; C 81): Come, then, and let Zoroaster, the Magus of Bactria, come through the zone of fire from the inner circle that we may agree with the author Hermippus; may there also come with him Armenius the Pamphylian, the grandson of Zostrianus and close associate of Cyrus, whose achievements Ctesias sets forth in the first book of his histories.

*ib.* IV, 12 (C. 81): The Magians... relate that, after their invocations, anti-gods quite often steal up, instead of the gods they have summoned; and that the former are spirits of a grosser substance, which pass themselves off as gods and deceive the ignorant with their lies and pretences.

#### GREEK PAPYRUS.

(Probably between third and fourth centuries, A.D. (G.M. 312): The name "Zoroaster, the Persian", appears without further qualification in a Greek magic papyrus published by Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni Batavorum*, Leiden, 1883-1885, vol. ii, pp. 154-155.

#### FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

(wrote about 305 A.D.)

(Peter: *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*) Aurelianus, 5, 5 (C 81): Moreover, when he went as ambassador to Persia he

was given a bowl of the type which is usually presented to the emperors by the Persian king. On it was an engraved representation of the Sun in the form in which it was worshipped in the temple in which his mother had been priestess.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA.

(lived about 262 to 340 A.D.)

*Praeparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford) X, 9, 10, 484 d (G 243 ; C 81) : The city known as Nineveh among the Hebrews was named after Ninus in whose time Zoroaster the Magian was king of the Bactrians. Semiramis was the consort of Ninus and succeeded him on the throne. Hence Abraham was contemporary with them.

*Chronica* (ed. Aucher) (to year 9 of Abraham) II, 35 (G 243) : Zoroaster, the Magian, is held to be a famous king of the Bactrians ; Ninus fought a successful war against him.

LACTANTIUS.

(died about 340 A.D.)

*Divinae Institutiones* (ed. Brandt) VII, 18, 2 (C. 82) : *Hystaspes*. . . after his account of the vices of the last years of this century, says that the good and the faithful will be separated from the malefactors and will stretch out their hands to heaven with tears and lamentations and will implore the help of Jupiter ; and that Jupiter will look down upon the earth and listen to the prayers of men, and will destroy the wicked.

LACTANTIUS PLACIDUS.

ed. Jahnke, *Commentary on Book IV*, pp. 228-9 : " The complete system of the threefold universe " resembles that old painting in which are depicted the torments of the damned and the ascent to God. Now he calls God the " demiurge," it being wrong to know his name. Innumerable philosophers and Magians, and also the Persians, affirm that in reality there is, in addition to the gods whom all know, and who are worshipped in temples, another god who is superior to them and lord in the highest degree : he assigns their functions and positions to the other divinities ; and of this stock the Sun and the Moon are the sole representatives. The other gods, who are said to be carried around by the globe, owe their brightness to exhalations from the supreme god ; the chief authorities for this view being



Pythagoras, Plato, and even Tages. But it is outrageous to believe, as some do, that this supreme god has anything to do with wicked arts or the practices of magic. Now the poet in his verses spoke of "him" in a way which implied that he knew his name, and referred to it later in such a way as to disclose it. But his main object in speaking thus of "him" was to inspire fear, and the belief that he knew the name. If, however, it is wrong for the name to be known, it could not be learnt by the poet. Even though the Magians possess gems which they believe to be inscribed with names of God, the fact is that the name of God cannot be known by any man. I will now explain the truth of the whole matter. Can we know the name of this god who with a mere nod governs and holds together all that is, whose will everything obeys, whose universe transcends thought and has no limits? But the Magians, wishing to understand, as they thought, the several names of the divine virtue, quite wrongly applied names more or less in accordance with the natural function of each, and attempted to give to God a name by attaching to him the laudable attributes of a multiplicity of divinities, using words derived, more or less, from the effect produced by each virtue thus attributed to him.

FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

(wrote in 346 or 347 A.D.)

*De Errore Profanarum Religionum* (ed. Ziegler) 5 (C. 82): All the Persians and Magians who inhabit the Region of Persia honour fire before everything else and hold that it should have first place among all the elements. And so they distinguish its powers as two in number, applying its nature to that of the two sexes and allotting the substance of male and female each to a form of fire. And woman that determine as having three faces, and connect her with hideous serpents. This they do to avoid disagreeing in any way with their master the devil, and to secure that their goddess, in bringing forth serpents, be adorned with the foul insignia of the devil.

PSEUDO-CLEMENT.

(wrote 350-400 A.D.)

*Homilies* (Lagarde, Clementina) VI, 10 (C. 82): Observe please, that all such things, without distinction, embody the same allegory. You must consider that the sun which traverses the heavens is Appollo, who is son of Zeus, and is also called Mithras, as he fulfils the revolution of the year.

*ib.* IX, 4ff. (G. 239 ; C. 82-83) : In his turn in the succession a certain man of this family (*i.e.* of Cham), called Nebrod, received the magic art as though he were a giant who chose to think thoughts in opposition to God ; he it is whom the Greeks knew as Zoroaster. After the flood he became covetous of the kingship, and, being a great Magian, with his magic devices he constrained the star presiding over the destiny of the evil king then on the throne to yield the kingship. The latter, however, inasmuch as he was the ruler and had authority over the one who was attempting the violence, brought down the royal fire upon him that he might honour his oath and punish him who had first resorted to constraint .5. Now when Nebrod the Magian had been slain by the lightning that had fallen from heaven to earth, his name was changed to Zoroaster, for the reason that the stream of living fire from the star had descended upon him. But the foolish people of those days believing that because of his friendship with God his soul had been summoned by the lightning bolt, buried the remains of his body, honoured his tomb by the erection of a shrine in that place in Persia where the fire had come down, and revered him as a god. Following this example their successors mark by means of shrines their veneration of those who are killed by lightning, on the theory that they are friends of God, and erect lifelike images of them. 6. Since the Persians were the first to collect and to preserve with special care the embers of a fallen lightning-bolt as well as to revere celestial fire as a god and to do homage to it, they were honoured by this very fire in being given the first kingship. After this the Babylonians stole the coals of this fire, conveyed it to their own shrines, worshipped it and themselves succeeded to the royal power.

Recognitiones (Migne, Patrologia Graeca I) I, 30 (C. 83) : In the seventeenth generation Nemrod was the first to hold the kingship in Babylonia and there built a city ; removing thence to Persia he taught the Persians to worship fire.

*ib.* IV, 27 ff. (G. 238-239 ; C. 83-84) : One of these, named Cham, transmitted to a certain one of his sons, who was known as Mesraim and from whom the Egyptians, Babylonians and Persians are descended, the doctrine of magic which was then only imperfectly understood. This man the people of that time called Zoroaster, honouring him as the originator of magic ; indeed, numerous books on this subject bear his name. By making many careful observations of the stars and through a desire to appear to men as a god he began to draw out sparklike emanations from the stars and to show them to his fellowmen

so that these untutored and ignorant people might be led to stand aghast before them as before a miracle ; but in his intense ambition to enhance his reputation in this way he attempted this task so often that he was set on fire by the very *dæmon* with whom he associated to excess and was entirely consumed. 28. But the foolish people of that day when they ought assuredly to have abandoned the opinion they held concerning him (for, of course, they had seen it refuted by the penalty of death), exalted him all the more. For example, they erected a sepulchre in his honour, and, as though he were a favorite of the god and had been borne aloft to heaven on a bolt of lightning, they made so bold as to worship him and to revere him as a living star. Hence, after his decease the name of Zoroaster, that is to say, "living star," was given him by those who, a single generation later, had come under the influence of the Greek tongue. In a word, even today, following this precedent, many people venerate as friends of God those who have been killed by lightning and whom they have honoured with imposing sepulchres. Thus, he began his ministry in the fourteenth generation and died in the fifteenth, in which the tower was built, and the languages of men were greatly multiplied. 29. The first of these men to gain the title of king (and this in spite of his magic art, on the theory that a flash of fire had descended upon him) was Nemrod, the same man who is called Ninus by the Greeks, from him the city of Nineveh gets its name. In this way, then, the various erroneous superstitions had their origin in magic.

The very people who had originally been deceived collected the ashes of the man that had been burned by the anger of the god to whom he had been excessively offensive, on the ground that the ashes were relics of the lightning-bolt, gave them to the Persians, in order that the fire, as a divine flame that had fallen from heaven, might be preserved by a perpetual succession of watchers and be worshipped as a god from above.

*ib.* IX, 20 (C. 84) : It is the custom in Persia to take both sisters and daughters to wife, and in the whole of that region the Persians practise incestuous marriages.

*ib.* 21 (C. 84) ; Some of the same Persian people emigrate to foreign parts, and were known as *Magusaci*. Descendants of these are found even now in Media and Parthia, and a certain number even in Egypt ; more, however, inhabit Galatia and Phrygia. They all, even when they have settled in foreign countries, preserve unchanged the incestuous feature of this tradition and pass it on to their posterity.

## AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

(Wrote about 360 A.D.)

History (ed. Clark) XVII, 5, 1 ff. (C. 84): The king of Persia . . . . 2. sent a letter to Constantius . . . ., the tenor of which I have learnt was as follows: 3. "Sapor, king of kings, partner of the stars, brother of the sun and moon, to Constantius Caesar my brother greeting, etc."

*ib.* XXI, 13, 4 (C. 84): The Persians . . . also worship the spirit of silence.

*ib.* XXIII, 6, 4 f. (C. 84): With the chief men rivalling the populace in expressing their approbation, he (Arsaces) was, as they believe, the first through the dedication pronounced in this ceremony he had instituted, to be made one with the stars. 5. In consequence, until this day the arrogant kings of this same people allow themselves to be addressed as the brothers of the sun and moon.

*ib.* 32 (C. 84): In these parts are the fertile territories of the Magians; and now that I have come to them, it will not be out of place to give a short account of this sect and their activities.

*ib.* 32-34 (G 244-245; C. 84-85): Plato, the most eminent authority on notable views and beliefs, asserts that in mystic language "magia" is "hagistia," an exceedingly pure form of the cult of the divine. To the lore of this cult many additions derived from the occult teachings of the Chaldeans were made in primitive times by Zoroaster, the Bactrian, and later by Hystaspes, the wise king and the father of Darius. 33. The latter while boldly exploring the hidden solitudes of upper India came to a certain lonely wood of whose peace and stillness the Brahmins, pronouncedly inclined to contemplation as they were, were taking advantage. By them he was tutored in the laws governing the movements of the universe and the constellations as well as in the pure and undefiled ceremonies of divine worship so far as he could comprehend them, and some of the things he learned he combined with the doctrine of the Magians, namely, those things which, along with instruction in prophecy, each Brahmin transmits to posterity through his own immediate offspring. A vast number of his descendants in continuous succession from the remote past to the present day have been consecrated to the worship of the gods. Moreover,

it is said (if it is fair to believe it) that they preserve perpetually on their hearths fire that has fallen from heaven, a small measure of which, according to report, was in olden times carried before the kings of Asia as an omen of good fortune.

*ib.* 35 f. (C. 85): Originally the number of these Magians was small, and their services were regularly employed by the Persian governments for the conduct of divine worship. It was considered to be a crime demanding expiation if any one approached the altars or touched the victim before a Magian said prayers and poured the preliminary libations. In time, however, the Magians increased in number and acquired the status as they received the name, of a real individual people. They lived in large houses in the country, which were entirely without the protection of strong walls, and were allowed to observe their own laws, while the general respect for their piety caused them to be held in honour. 36. It is recorded in the books of the ancients that, after the death of Cambyses, seven representatives of this Magian stock ascended the throne of Persia, from which they were ousted by the party of Darius, whom the chance of a horse's neigh raised to the supreme power.

*ib.* 76 f. (C. 85): Most of them give a very free rein to their desire for sexual pleasures, and as they abstain from pœderasty, and are not easily satisfied even with numerous concubines, each man marries more or fewer wives according to his means. And so the diffusion of their interest among the various objects of their passion results in the atrophy of feelings of genuine affection. They avoid elegant and luxurious banquets, and especially any excessive eagerness for drink, which they consider an abomination. 77. Moreover, apart from the royal banquets, no regular hours for meals are observed among them; each man's hunger tells him the time for eating; and, when so prompted, they eat whatever is at hand, no one even indulging himself beyond satiety.

*ib.* 79 (C. 85): In addition, it is not easy to find a Persian relieving himself in the open or openly withdrawing for the purpose of satisfying the demands of nature; thus they avoid with great care these and other disgraceful actions.

*ib.* 80 (C. 85): A servant attending upon them, or serving at table, may not open his mouth or speak or spit: and so the mouths of all of them are bound with strips of skin drawn across them.



BASIL.

(lived about 330—379 A.D.)

Letters (Migne, P.G. XXXII) 258 to Epiphanius 4 (C. 86): The Magusæi...live in great numbers among us, scattered almost all over the country. They are the descendants of colonists originally transplanted to this country from the region of Babylonia. They observe customs peculiar to themselves, and do not mingle with other people. Inasmuch as the devil has enslaved them to his will it is quite impossible to appeal to their reason; for they have no books and no teachers of doctrine; instead they are brought up in irrational habits, and pass on their impieties to their children. Apart from these characteristics, which all may observe, they object to sacrificing living things, regarding it as an abomination, and in consequence they procure others to slay the animals which are needed for the purpose. They indulge in lawless forms of marriage and believe fire and other similar things to be gods.

*ib.* 258 (G. 244; C. 86): Nobody has recorded for us the genealogies of the Magians from Abraham to the present time, but their tradition has it that a certain Zarouas was the founder of their line.

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS.

(died 390 A.D.).

Orations (Migne, P.G. XXXVI) 39, 5 (C. 96): What...will you think of the meat with which Pelops feasted the hungry gods with malignant and inhuman hospitality? or of the obscure and dreadful portents of Hecate and the sport and divination of Trophonius beneath the earth? or of the drivellings of the oak of Dodona? or of the sophisms of the Delphic tripod? or of the prophetic spring of Castalia? This alone they did not predict, that they would all become silent; neither did the sacrifices nor the prophetic victims of the Magians, nor the astronomy nor the astrology of the Chaldeans, etc.

MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER.

(about 350 A.D.)

Against Justin the Manichæan (ed. Migne) 1003 (G. 245): Have you already observed, then, how many people Manis, Zoradis, or the Buddha have led astray by these teachings?

## AMBROSIIUS.

(died 397 A.D.)

Letters (Migne, P.L. VI) 1,18 30 (C. 86): Why....did the Romans always abhor the gods of treacherous Carthage? whom the Afri worship as Coelestes, the Persians as Mithras, and most peoples as Venus, the names being different but the deity signified the same.

## EPIPHANIUS OF CONSTANTIA.

(died 403 A.D.)

Panarium contra Hæreses (ed. Holl) 3, 2 f. (G. 244; C. 86-87): Now there ascended the throne Nebrod, the son of Chus, the Ethiopian, the progenitor of Assur. His rule extended over Orech, Arphal and Chalanne. He founded also the kingdom of Thiras, of Thobel and of Lobus in the territory of the Assyrians. This man, according to the Greeks, was the same as Zoroaster, who migrated to the East and founded the kingdom of the Bactrians, from which region his lawless teachings spread over the (earth). Lawless, I say, for this Nebrod was the inventor of the evil doctrine of astrology and magic, just as certain authorities relate concerning Zoroaster; at all events, it is quite true that this was the time in which Nebrod the giant lived, and that Nebrod and Zoroaster did not<sup>1</sup> live many years apart<sup>2</sup>.

*ib.* (Migne, P.G. XLI) 42 (C. 87): For his (sc. Paul's) character shows him to have received a thorough preliminary education, since the Epicureans and Stoics were unable to maintain their views against him and were confounded by the inscription to the unknown god which he appositely quoted to them ..... and again when he said: "One of their prophets uttered these words: "The Cretans were ever liars, evil beasts, slothful and gluttonous." He alluded, as they knew, to Epimenides, a philosopher of early times, Mithras also being the idol of the Cretans.

Expositio Fidai (Migne, P. G. XLII) 12 (C. 87): There being, moreover, many other...mystic doctrines, and heresiarchs and schismatics, the leaders of whom in Persia are the Magusaei.

<sup>1</sup> The negative is omitted in some MSS.

<sup>2</sup> In one MS this sentence reads: N. and Z. lived long before the Greeks.

*ib.* 13 (C. 87) : . . . . in Persia the so-called Magusaei abhor idols, but nevertheless adore fire and the moon and the sun, which are idols.

OROSIUS.

(died after 418 A.D.)

Histories against the Pagans (rec. Zangemeister) I, 4, 1 (C. 87) : Thirteen hundred years before the foundation of the city, Ninus, king of Assyria, in the desire to enlarge his empire, marched abroad, the first to do so, according to the historians of his country.

*ib.* (G. 246 ; C. 87) : Finally, Ninus defeated and killed in battle Zoroaster, the king of the Bactrians, the same man who, according to tradition, was the inventor of magic.

S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

(born about 347 A. D. ; died 407 A. D.)

De Babyla, contra Julianum et Gentiles (Migne, P.G. 49-50) col. 536 (most of the passage is in G. 245) : For tell me, why is it that most men, or rather all do not even know the name of the famous Zoroastres, or of Zalmoxis ? At least the number who do is quite small. Is it not because everything that is said about them is pure invention ? Yet both those teachers themselves, and those who have compiled their doctrines, are said to have been clever men, the former in discovering and practising sorcery, the latter in masking falsehood with persuasive words. Yet all doctrines are vain and purposeless when their premises are unsound and false, just as, on the contrary, in the case of premises that are sound and true, all the devices of the enemy for one's undoing turn out to be unavailing and ineffective ; for truth requires no adventitious aid to strengthen it. Our doctrine, which you say is pure invention, despots and kings and sophists irresistible in argument, yea, and philosophers also and sorcerers and Magians and daemons, have been eager to destroy.

Anonymous Author, Opus Imperfectum in Matthaëum Homil. (Migne P.G. LVI. col. 636ff) : " Behold, Magians came to Jerusalem from the east, saying : ' Where is he that is born king of the Jews ? ' " ' Behold '—that is, as soon as he was born they knew the mighty God in the humble human body, as they showed by their words, their actions, and by the very gifts that they brought. By their words, since they said,

'Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we saw his star in the east, and are come to adore him.' By their actions, for when they had seen him, they adored him. Faith in them was found to be keener than sight, for they saw only what was humble, but realised in it what was exalted. By their gifts, again, for they offered to him gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. . . . (col. 637) O blessed Magians, who, out of all the peoples, have deserved to become the first fruits of the faithful! . . . . Who are the Magians? Men of the east, who came from Persia. And by the Persians the word "Magian" is understood to mean, not a worker of evil, but a man of wisdom. It is for that reason that they are called "the virtue of Damascus" (Isaiah, 8. 4: Before the boy shall know his father and mother, he shall know the virtue of Damascus, in the sight of the king of the Assyrians), for the virtue of each region is the wise men thereof. But the king of the Assyrians is the devil, the prince of demons. . . . 'For we saw his star in the east, and are come to adore him.' Were they unaware that Herod was reigning in Jerusalem? Did they not understand the justice of that law, by which a man who during the lifetime of one king, proclaims another as king and adores him, is punished with death as the servant of a usurper? But while thinking of the king who was to be, they did not fear the king who was then reigning. Did they not have before their eyes the risk of death, venturing as they were upon a deed so strictly forbidden? But they recked not of death. Had they recked of death, they would not have had the courage to do this. As yet they had not seen the Christ, and already they were prepared to die for him. O blessed Magians, who in the sight of a cruel tyrant, and before they had seen the Christ, became the confessors of Christ! I have read somewhere that those Magians had received the knowledge, that that star would appear, from the works of Balaam the soothsayer. The prediction of this star is made also in the Old Testament: "A star shall arise from out of Jacob, and a man shall be born in Israel, and he shall bear sway over all nations."

Liber apocryphus nomine Seth. Mons Victorialis (col. 637): I have heard people referring to a certain book, which although of uncertain provenance, was edifying rather than destructive of the faith. It told of a people who dwelt near the sea on the fringe of the eastern world. They had in their possession a work which bore the name of Seth and described this star that was going to appear, and said that these gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh should be offered to it. This work was kept and handed down from father to son through many generations

of zealots. And certain of the more zealous among them, being devoted to the heavenly mysteries, set themselves apart, to the number of twelve, and took it upon themselves to wait for the star. When one of them died, his son, or one of his relations, who was found to share the same purpose, was elected to take the place of the deceased. They were called, in their own language, Magians, because they glorified God in silence and with whispered speech. These then every year, after the threshing-harvest, went up into a certain mountain in those regions, that was called in their language the Mount of Victory. Upon it was a cave in the rock; and the mountain with its fountains and plantations of trees was very beautiful. Having made the ascent they washed themselves and prayed and praised God (col. 638) in silence for three days, and thus they did during each generation, each ever on the watch, in case that star of blessedness should rise in his own generation, until it appeared to them, descending upon that Mount of Victory, having a form as of a small boy; and above it was a likeness of a cross. And it spoke to them, and taught them, and charged them to set forth and go to Judaea. When they set forth the star went before them for two years, and wallets they carried were never empty of food and drink. The rest of their deeds are briefly recorded in the Gospel. But when they returned, they continued to worship and glorify God, even more than at first, and preached to all their people and gave instruction to many. Finally, when, after the resurrection of the Lord, the apostle Thomas went into their province, they joined him, and were baptized by him, and assisted him in his ministry. The words of Scripture, "We have seen his star in the East," seem, however, to have given rise among unbelievers to an interest in astrology, which leads them to think that every man is born and lives by the action of his star. . . .

*ib.* col. 638, lower down: The Persians have intercourse with their mothers and daughters.

AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS.

(from 348 to about 410 A.D.)

Apotheosis, 492 ff. (G. 246): Would any neophyte who with a look had rendered void the mutterings of the Zoroastrians bind an inscribed wooden tablet upon his brow?

ST. JEROME.

(lived about 348-420 A.D.)

Commentary on Amos (Migne, P. L. XXV) III, 9 f. (C. 87-88): Basilides, who gives Almighty God the portentous name of



Abraxas, and that in Greek letters, also says that the number of the annual revolution is contained in the circle of the sun, which the nations call Meithras, a word containing the same number of letters of another language.

Adversus Jovinianum (Migne, P. L. XXIII) II, 7 (C. 88): The Persians, Medians, Indians, and Ethiopians, powerful peoples and equals of the Romans, have intercourse with their mothers, grandmothers, daughters and grand-daughters.

*ib.* 14 (C. 88): Eubulus. . . , who described the history of Mithras in a work of many volumes, says that in Persia there are three orders of Magians, the first of which, comprising the most learned and eloquent, take no food but meal and vegetables.

Epistles (Migne, P.L. XXII, col. 1153) ch. 1032. (G. 245): In Spain Agape, a certain blind woman, led Elpidius her blind husband into a pit. His heir was a certain Priscillianus, a zealous follower of the Magian, Zoroaster, but who though once a Magian became a bishop. The latter's wife Galla (that is, Gallic not by race but in name only) left her sister in a state of religious uncertainty and as the inheritor, so to speak, of the other faith with which she was familiar.

#### AUGUSTINE.

(lived 354-430 A.D.)

The City of God (ed. Dombart) XXI, 14 (G. 246; C. 88): It is reported that Zoroaster alone laughed as soon as he was born and yet that portentous laugh was no happy omen for him; because, although he is accounted to have been the originator of the arts of magic, he could not profitably employ them against his enemies to gain for himself even the delusive happiness of this life, as one may judge from the fact that as king of the Bactrians he was defeated in war by Ninus, king of the Assyrians.

#### CLAUDIAN.

(lived about 370-404 A.D.)

The Consulship of Stilicho (Monumenta Germanicae Historiae, auctorum Antiquorum X) I, 58ff. (C. 88): The altars, heaped with fragrant incense and Sabaeen fruits, perform the propitiation for peace. The Magians have brought the sacred fire with speed

from the inmost shrine and have laid low the bullocks with Chaldean ritual. The king himself inclines with his right hand the glittering bowl and the mystic relics of Belus, and calls upon Mithras who speeds the errant stars.

#### NONNUS OF PANOPOLIS.

(lived between 381-390 A.D. and Agathias)

Dionysiaca (ed. Köchly) XXI, 246 f. (C. 89): Turn, if thou wilt, thy step toward the neighbouring land of the Medes . . . I will show thee the soil of Babylon, where the god Mithres was wont to dwell, an Assyrian Phæthon in the land of Persis. For Deriades has not learned of the race of the blessed immortals, and does not honour the Sun and Zeus and the chorus of bright stars . . . I do not heed the blessed offspring of Zeus.

*ib.* XI, 369 ff. (C. 89): O Heracles, girt with stars, lord of fire, ruler of the universe . . . whether thou art Cronus, or Phæthon, or Mithras the many-named sun of Babylon.

#### HESYCHIUS.

(lived in the 5th cent. A.D.)

Lexicon (ed. Schmidt) (C 89): Magian: quack, sorcerer, a pious man, theologian, priest, a Persian word. Mithras: the sun, called by the Persians Mithres; the chief god of the Persians.

#### CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.

(died 444 A.D.)

Against Julian (Migne, P. G. LXXVI) III, (G. 246): Now, that the Magians were Persians will be generally admitted, I presume. As for Zoroaster, however, no account concerning him could avoid mentioning that he was involved in the arts of magic. His most successful disciple, they say, was Pythagoras, and it is added that Pythagoras himself made this claim in some mystical book which he compiled.

*ib.* 87 (C 89): Even the most wise Clement in his Stromata makes mention of this man (*i.e.*, Zoroaster) in the following words: Zoroaster, etc., (see *supra*, Clement of Alexandria, p. 42.).

*ib.* IV, 133: See *supra*, Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor, p. 28.

## SOCRATES.

(finished his work between 439 and 450 A.D.)

Ecclesiastical History (ed. Hussey) VII 8, 3 ff. (C. 89-90):  
 'Circumstances . . . necessitated the despatch of Maruthas, the bishop of Mesopotamia, . . . as an envoy from the Roman emperor to the king of Persia. 4. The latter, finding Maruthas to be circumspect and devout, held him in honour and regarded him as one who was truly favoured by God. 5. This circumstance somewhat annoyed the Magians, who have much influence at the Persian court: they feared that he would convert the king to Christianity. 6. For the prayers of Maruthas had cured a head-ache to which the king had been subject for a long time; and this the Magians had been unable to do. 7. The Magians therefore resorted to underhand means. The Persians worship fire and it is the habit of the king to adore the ever-burning fire which they keep in a certain shrine. The Magians concealed a man underground at the usual time of the king's devotions, and suborned him to proclaim that the king should be outlawed, for that he had been guilty of impiety, in thinking that the priest of the Christians was favoured of God. 8. When Isdigerdes (this was the king's name) heard this, he felt a desire to send Maruthas away, notwithstanding the reverence with which he regarded him. 9. Maruthas, who was in truth a man favoured of God, made prayer unceasingly, and by this means discovered the trap which the Magians had set for the king. 10. So he said to the king: 'O king, let them not make mock of you. Enter the shrine, and when you hear the voice, dig, and you will uncover the trap. It is not the fire which speaks: the voice is produced by the contrivance of men.' 11. The Persian king did as Maruthas suggested, and went again into the shrine which contained the ever-burning fire. 12. And when he again heard the same voice, he gave orders for the place to be dug up. And the man who was emitting the words, which had been supposed to proceed from a god, was exposed. 13. This greatly angered the king, who reduced the order of the Magians to a tenth of their number, and, when he had done this, told Maruthas that he could build churches wherever he wished. This circumstance led to the spread of Christianity among the Persians. 14. At this point, therefore, Maruthas departed from Persia and returned to Constantinople; but was again, after a short interval, sent back as an envoy. 15. Once more the Magians devised schemes to prevent the king from receiving him. It occurred to them to cause an evil smell to proceed from the

place from which the king usually advanced ; and they alleged that this was caused by the Christians. 16. The king, however, having for some time regarded the Magians with suspicion, investigated the source of the odour with particular care, and it was again certain members of that order to whom the crime was traced. 17. In consequence the king again punished many of the Magians.

#### SOZOMENUS.

(wrote at the same time)

Ecclesiastical History (ed. Hussey) II, 9, 1 ff. (C. 90-92) :  
 In time . . . (the Persian Christians) became very numerous and formed churches and had priests and deacons. This gave great offence to the Magians, a sort of priestly caste, who from ancient times have had hereditary superintendence of the Persian worship. It also offended the Jews, whose practice of misrepresenting the Christian doctrines has made them appear to be its natural and hereditary enemies. They went to the then king, Sobares, and accused Simeon, who, at that time, was archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon . . . of favouring the Roman emperor and of reporting to him the progress of events in Persia. 2. Persuaded of the truth of these charges, Sobares . . . ordered . . . the arrest of Simeon as a traitor to the Persian monarchy and religion. 3. This led to the speedy destruction of the churches by the Magians, acting in concert with the Jews. Simeon, after his arrest, was led in chains to the king ; and there he proved himself a brave and good man. For when Sobares, intending to examine him under torture, ordered him to be brought in, he gave no sign of fear, and refused to do obeisance. 4. This greatly angered the king, who asked : " Why, after having always done obeisance before, did you not do so this time ? " Simeon replied : " Because on no previous occasion was I led in as a prisoner and expected to betray the true God ; and, there being no reason why I should not do so, I observed the customary marks of respect to the person of the king. This it is no longer right for me to do ; for I am come to do battle for religion and for our doctrine." 5. When he had finished, the king commanded him to adore the sun, and promised to give him many gifts, and to hold him in honour, if he obeyed ; if he did not, he threatened to destroy him and the whole body of the Christians. When these threats failed to break the resolve of Simeon, and the promises failed to mollify him, and he persisted in his intrepid refusal ever to adore the sun, or to prove a traitor to his religion, the king ordered him to be held in prison for a time, believing,

naturally enough, that he would change his mind. 6. While being led off to prison he was seen by Ousthazanes, an elderly eunuch who had looked after Sobares in his youth and enjoyed more influence than the king's relations. Ousthazanes happened to be sitting outside the gates of the palace: he got up and did obeisance to him. Simeon roughly rebuked him, and in great anger shouted aloud, and turned away and passed him by; for, being a Christian, not even a great show of force prevailed upon him to adore the sun. 7. The eunuch straightway burst into tears and lamentations and took off the rich garments which he was wearing, exchanging them for the black clothes of one who was mourning, and sat in front of the palace, weeping and groaning, and exclaiming "Alas for me, what treatment can I expect from the God whom I denied? when because of this Simeon, long my friend, found not a word to address to me, but thus avoided and ran past me." Sobares, when he learned this, summoned him to his presence and asked the reason of his grief and whether he had been bereaved of any of his family. 8. Ousthazanes in reply said, "O king, no misfortune has happened to my earthly home. I would that, instead of what has befallen me, other misfortunes of all kinds had come upon me; they would be easier to bear. I grieve now, for that I am alive. I, who ought to have died long ago, behold the sun, which to please you, but not from personal conviction, I adored, because I thought, etc..."

*ib.* 10, 1ff. (C. 92): Simeon...taken again from the prison to the palace, talked to Sobares about the doctrine, showing a lofty independence, and refusing to do obeisance either to him or to the sun. 2. On the same day orders were given for the simultaneous execution of a hundreded other prisoners; Simeon was to be put to death last, after he had witnessed the death of all the others...3. When they were being led out to execution, the great archmagian appeared on the scene and asked them if they desired to live and worship the king in the national manner and revere the sun. None of them choosing to live on these terms they were led to the place appointed for the execution, and the executioners....proceeded with their task.

*ib.* 12, 1ff. (C. 92-93): At this point the queen was attacked by a disease, and the sister of bishop Simeon was arrested. By name Tarbula, she was a maiden devoted to the service of God. With her were arrested a servant-maid of hers who followed the same life, and her sister, who after the death of her husband had foresworn married life and occupied herself in the same way as Tarbula. This action was due to charges preferred by the Jews,



who alleged that in anger at the execution of Simeon they had plotted to poison the queen. 2....The women were handed over to the Magians and condemned by them to death. Their bodies were sawn in two and impaled; and the Magians, by way of driving off the disease, caused the queen to pass between the pales. 3. It is said that this Tarbula was fair and very beautiful to look upon, and that one of the Magians fell in love with her and sent her a secret message, promising that the lives of herself and her companions should be spared, if she would accept him as her lover; and that Tarbula, not deigning to listen to the shameful proposal, abused and reviled them for their lustfulness, saying that, rather than yield to it or surrender her virginity, she would very cheerfully prefer death. 4. As I have said above, it had been decided, in accordance with the king's instructions, to arrest the priests and the teachers of the doctrine, but to leave alone all the others. Accordingly Magians and archmagians scoured the land of Persia, and diligently maltreated the bishops and elders, especially in Adiabene.

#### THEODORETUS.

(lived about 393-457 A.D.)

Ecclesiastical History (ed. Parmentier) V, 39, 1 (C. 93): About this time Isdigerdes, the king of Persia, started to make war upon the churches, giving as his reason that a certain bishop named Abdas....had destroyed a pyreum. Pyrea is the name they give to the temples to fire: for they regard fire as a god.

*ib.* 5 (C. 93): The Persians call Magians those who make out the elements to be gods. I have described their stories in a previous work, in which I refuted these false views.

Treatment of Greek Influences (ed. Reader), Sermo 9, 33 (G 247; C 93): When long ago the Persians lived under the laws of Zaradas they consorted freely with their mothers, sisters and even with their daughters, regarding the unlawful as lawful; but after they submitted themselves to the doctrine of the fishermen (*i.e.* the apostles) they trampled the laws of Zaradas underfoot as unlawful and affectionately embraced the self-control taught by the Gospel. Though they have learned from him (Zaradas) to expose their dead to dogs and birds, yet now they do not tolerate this practice but bury their dead in the earth, disregarding the laws that forbid interment, and show no fear of the cruelty of those who punish them.

## PRISCUS.

(lived 408-450 A.D.)

History of Byzantium (Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*), fr. 31 (C. 93-94): (An embassy) arrived....from the king of Persia, making complaints in regard to the harbouring of refugees from his kingdom and to the treatment of the Magians who had dwelt from early times in the territory of the Romans. The envoys alleged that the Romans, in their desire to seduce them from their national customs and beliefs and to prevent their worshipping their own gods, were a continual source of annoyance to them and would not consent to their lighting, in accordance with the ordinances of their faith, the fire which they call unquenchable.

## PROCLUS.

(lived 412-485 A.D.)

Paraphrase of Ptolemy, Bk. IV *De Siderum Effectibus* (ed. Allatius) II, 3 (C. 94): The regions....which comprise India Arriane, Gedrosia, Parthia, Media, Persis, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, as they lie towards the south-east of the whole world, naturally resemble the south-eastern triangle.... because the inhabitants not only easily submit to the rule of despots, but also worship the priest of Aphrodite, whom they call Isis, and the priest of Cronus, whom they call 'Mithranelios' (*i. e.* Mithras-Sun).

On the Republic of Plato (ed. Kroll, ii, p. 59) (GM 313-314), Zoroaster and the Egyptian disciples of Petosiris maintain, and Ptolemy agrees, that the season for sowing occurs when the moon is in the position that favors parturition, whereas the moon of sowing comes at the season of child-bearing.

*ib.* p. 34 (GM 315): Zoroaster also presents evidences regarding causes of seven-month births, telling how to predict when one will occur. This is what he says: Conceptions that take place at conjunctions of the sun and the moon result in child births at full moon, whereas those that take place at full moon are consummated at conjunction. Childbirths occur at the mean position between the two extreme phases of the moon, the moon waxing in the same sign of the zodiac from the beginning of the conjunctive conception, but, conversely, waning from the beginning of a conception at full moon (by this mean position he implies that the progressive changes of the moon are divided into

two equal parts). Again, conceptions that happen at this mean position progress to the point of birth by an alternating process of increasing at full moon and by decreasing at the time of conjunction.....(Text here is incomplete and obscure).....At the time at which the moon fully overtakes the sun, one must observe carefully when the moon passes through two configurations, for example, two conjunctions in one month in the same sign of the zodiac ; for then is it that seven-month births occur. Seven months, I say, because only at the end of this period does the fetus appear to be completely formed ; and what it was gaining in time by the addition of the sun's course, it was losing in the womb.

*ib.* pp. 109-110 (GM. 314-315 ; C 94) : One might well be amazed at the vast variety of different and distorted interpretations of this passage put forth by our predecessors. Some claim that not Er was the author of this whole myth, but Zoroaster, and have actually produced the book which purports to bear his name, as did Colotes, the Epicurean, whom we have mentioned before. And I have myself read Zoroaster's four books "On Nature," the preface to which is as follows : "Zoroaster, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian, is authority for what is herein contained, both what he learned from the gods after his death in battle and what is derived from the rest of his account." In the mention he makes of Cyrus in the very heart of these books, he evidently alludes to the king, but to what Cyrus he does not make clear. Of the beings spoken of here he refers to none by name, except Ananke, and he alates that she is the air. The volumes are filled with astrological observations ; as everybody knows, he even seems to deny the complete cycle of motion set forth in the Politicus. Consequently, it is uncertain whether this myth is derived from these sources and whether the name Zoroaster, rather than Er, was written in the copies of the text.....Other authorities agree that Er was the name that was actually written and that Zoroaster was Er's teacher, thus following Cronius in associating the Pamphylian Zoroaster in some way with the great Zoroaster, unless, of course, they may mean not the Persian but the Pamphylian whose writings on nature, as has been said, we have read. Some, again, write these words : "Eumaeon, the narrator, son of Er," but they are unable to justify the position of this word [Eumaeon] without the addition of the article inasmuch as the ancients were not in the habit of indicating paternity without the article in the genitive case. Still others declare that Armenius was not Zoroaster's father, but, through the substitution of another short vowel, Armonius, which is only a small

error in regard to the name; in fact, we have found this written in the books of the Zoroaster we have mentioned, to wit, "Armenius, his father." I am personally aware that certain authors accept Armenius as Er, and of these we must inquire why they call Armenius a Pamphylian. Of the highly esteemed authors who have come to this conclusion, I mention Theodorus of Asine.

CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS.

(wrote about 470 A.D.)

On the Condition of the Soul (Migne, III, col. 750) II, 8: (G. 247): Why should I summon to the defence of the Truth the opinions of Zoroaster, of the Brahmans of India, of Anarcharsis of Scythia, moreover, of the two Catos, of Marcus Cicero, of Chrysippus who almost from the very beginning of his treatise attributes to the soul the right of command and to the body the law of subservience?

DAMASCUS.

(lived about 453 A.D.—after 533 A.D.)

'Problems and Solutions' (ed. Ruelle, 125 bis (C. 95): The Magians... and all the stronger peoples—a fact which is also recorded by Eudemus—call the whole realm of the intelligible and the unified in some cases Time, in others Place. This results in a distinction either between a good god and an evil dæmon, or between light and darkness, according to some authorities. And the same theorists, after thus dividing the indivisible substance, make a twofold classification of the more important elements, and set Oromasdes over the one, and Arimanius over the other.

ZOSIMUS.

(fifth century A.D.)

Notable comments on tools and ovens: on the letter  $\Omega$  (Bertholet et Ruelle, *Collections des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1887, vol. ii, p. 229) (GM. 315-316): Hermes and Zoroaster said that philosophers rise superior to Fate by refraining from exultation over the prosperity she grants (for they exercise control over pleasures), by not being cast down by her blows (for never do they move away from home), and by declining her charming gifts, since they keep before their eyes the result of evil-doing.

Zoroaster, in his boastful pride in magic and in his knowledge of things celestial, makes the statement that all the evil decrees of Fate, both particular and universal, are not susceptible of expression in corporeal form.

PROCOPIUS OF GAZA.

(lived from about 465 to before 528 A.D.)

Commentary on Genesis (Migne, P.G. xxxvii, 1) c. 11 (G. 248 ; C. 95) : The Greeks say that Assur was identical with Zoroaster, who migrated to the East and took up his abode among Bactrians. He was, they state, the discoverer of astrology. At all events, according to what is definitely known concerning Nebrod the giant, Nebrod was the same person as Cronus, and Nebrod and Zoroaster lived not many years apart. Others maintain that Arphaxad discovered astrology.

JOANNES LAURENTIUS LYDUS.

(born about 490 A.D.)

De Mensibus (ed. Wuensch) II, 3 (G. 247 ; C. 95) : Zoroaster and Hystaspes and their Chaldean and Egyptian followers counted the days by sevens from the number of the planets ; like the Pythagoreans, they name the first day, one, basing it upon the idea of unity, since it is single and has no share in the nature of the other days.

*ib.* 6 (G. 247) : So much, then, concerning the "one" which, as I was saying, most people call "first" and which, also, among things perceived they assign to the sun, the giver of all perceived light, by means of which it warms and gently dries material bodies—to the sun, I say, which is one of the planets, according to the Greeks, even if Zoroaster ranks it before the fixed luminaries.

De Ostentis (ed. Wachsmuth), prooemium, 2, 4 B (G. 247-248 ; C. 95) : I think it fitting for one who wishes to write concerning such topics to state at what point matters of this kind began to be understood, what the source of this understanding was, and how it advanced so far as even to surpass, if one may rightly say it, even that of the Egyptians themselves. For example, since the great Zoroaster, Petosiris,



an Egyptian, having involved generic notions with specific, is forced by his own method to make many concessions, yet not to everybody, but only to those who have to do with himself or, in other words, to those of them who are the more ready in making conjectures.

#### AENEAS OF GAZA.

(lived at the beginning of the sixth century, A.D.)

Theophrastus (ed. Boissonade) p. 72 (G. 248 ; C. 95) : And yet even Plato brings back Armenius<sup>1</sup> (i.e. Er.) in bodily form from Hades to the land of the living. And Zoroaster prophesies that some day there will be a resurrection of all the dead. Theopompus knows of this and is himself the source of information concerning it for the other writers.

#### SCHOLIA ON PLATO.

(collected soon after 529 A.D.)

On Alcibiades I (ed. Hermann), I, 211 E; *Seven years* (G. 231 ; C. 96) : Either because the faculty of reason is at that period just beginning to mature or because Zoroaster upon reaching the age of seven became silent and only after his thirtieth year instructed the king in his whole system of doctrine ; or because the number seven is peculiarly associated with Mithras whom the Persians especially revere.

ib. 122 A (G. 231 ; C. 96) : Zoroaster is said to have lived six thousand years earlier than Plato. Some authorities call him a Greek while others claim that he belonged to those people who migrated from the mainland above the Great Sea and that he learned all wisdom from the Good Dæmon, that is to say, effective mind ; indeed, his name translated into Greek means, 'he who sacrifices to the stars.' They say that he set a high value upon a course of life passed apart from the common herd of men, especially upon abstention from animal food ; furthermore, that he left behind him various literary works, on the basis of which they describe him as having divided philosophy into the three departments of natural science, economics and politics.

On the Republic X, 600 B : (G. 231 ; C. 96) : Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, an engraver of seal-rings, a Tyrrhenian.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the original text reads "the son of Armenius".

(Italian). While yet a young man he went to Samos, studied under Pherecydes the Syrian, next under Hermodamas, both of these in Samos, then under Abaris the Hyperborean and Zaras the Magian. Afterwards he received training from Egyptians and Chaldeans.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

(died after 562 A.D.)

'The Persian War' (ed. Hanry) I, 3, 19 f. (C. 96): The. . . Magians replied. . . . 20. that it was. . . . *their* custom to adore the rising sun every day.

*ib.* 7, 18f. (C. 96): Certain courtesans very immodestly pulled up their clothes and showed Cabades, who was standing quite close, those parts of the body of a woman which it is not right for a man to see. 19. The Magians, observing this, went into the presence of the king and urged him not to withdraw, maintaining that in consequence of what had happened they would bring it about that before long the Amidani should reveal all the hidden secrets to Cabades.

*ib.* 11, 34f. (C. 96): The accusers. . . said. . . 35. that he (Seoses) was. . . worshipping new gods and that he had buried his wife, who had recently died; it being forbidden by the Persian customs ever to bury in the earth the bodies of the dead.

*ib.* 12, 4 (C. 96-97): Cabades desired to compel them (sc. the Iberians living in Asia) by force to adopt the rules of his faith. He wrote to their king Gurgenes demanding a general adoption of Persian customs and forbidding his people ever to bury their dead in the earth, ordering them instead to throw them to the birds and dogs.

*ib.* 17, 28 (C. 97): Here (sc. in Persia) . . . it is forbidden to wear gold rings, girdles, brooches or anything else, unless with the permission of the king.

*ib.* II, 5, 9 (C. 97): Here (sc. in the city of Sura) . . . . . it happened that the horse on which Chosroes was riding neighed and kicked the ground with its hoof. The Magians interpreted the sign and announced that the place would be captured.

*ib.* 13, 9f. (C. 97): Having advanced to the neighbourhood . . . . . of Edessa, Chosroes, pointing to the city with his right hand, enquired of the Magians whether it would fall to him. 10. They replied that no measures would suffice to bring about its capture, inferring this from the fact that, in stretching out his right hand towards it, he was offering it a pledge, not of capture or any other hard fate, but of its preservation.

*ib.* 24, 1f. (C. 97): It happened . . . . . that Chosroes had come in a northerly direction from Assyria to the place called Adarbigana . . . . . 2. It is here that is situated the great pyreum, containing the fire which the Persians worship above all other gods. Here the unquenchable fire is guarded by Magians, who punctiliously perform the sacred rites and practise divination in regard to the most important matters.

JOANNES MALALAS.

(wrote in the time of Justinian)

Chronographia (ed. Dindorf) II, 37f. (C. 97-98): In the course of a winter storm when the river that flows near the city of the Ionitae (the name of the river then being Draco, but now Orontes) was in high flood, Perseus asked the people of the city to make a vow. While they were making their vow and engaged in the mysteries, a ball of fire, as of a thunderbolt, fell from the sky and caused the storm to cease and the flow of water to abate. Filled with wonder at this occurrence, Perseus immediately kindled a fire from this flame and had it kept carefully near him, taking it to his own palace in Persia. He taught the Persians to revere this fire which he maintained he had seen descend from heaven; this they hold in honour to this day as something divine. The same Perseus built a temple for the Ionitae which he called "the temple of deathless fire." Likewise he built a temple of fire in Persia, appointing as attendants discreet men to whom he gave the name of Magians. This the very scholarly chronographer Pausanias has recorded in his works.

*ib.* VII, p. 173: And Romulus instituted, for the first time in the territory of Rome, chariot-races in honour, as he said, of the Sun and of the four elements which were subordinate to it, namely the earth, the sea, fire, and air. For he reasoned that the consistent success of the Persian kings in their wars was due to the honour which they paid to these four elements.

## CASSIODORUS.

(died about 570 A.D.)

*Historia Tripartita* (Migne, P. L. LXIX) XI, 8 (C. 98-99). Circumstances brought it about that Maruthas, bishop of Mesopotamia, was sent as an envoy from the Roman emperor to the King of Persia. The latter, finding him to be very devout, held him in honour and regarded him as a man divine. This circumstance annoyed the Magians, who feared that he would convert the King to Christianity. For Maruthas by prayers had cured the King of a headache to which he had been subject for a long time; and this the Magians had been unable to do. The Magians therefore resorted to underhand means. As the Persians worship fire and it is the habit of the king to adore as a suppliant the fire which burns without ceasing in a certain shrine, the Magians concealed a man underground at the usual time of the King's devotions, and caused him to proclaim as follows: "Banish the King, for he has acted impiously, in that he accounts the Christian priest worthy of respect." Isdigerdes, the Persian King, when he heard this, planned to send Maruthas away in spite of the reverence he felt for him. Then Maruthas, who was in truth a man pleasing to God, applied himself to prayer, and by this means discovered the trap which the Magians had set for the King. Coming to the King, he said "O King, do not be made mock of. Enter the shrine and when you hear the voice, order the ground to be dug up, and you will discover the cause of the plot. For fire does not speak; contrivances of this kind are recognizable as the work of men." The Persian King was prevailed upon by these words; he again went into the shrine where the ever-burning fire was kept, and when he heard the voice, ordered the place to be dug up. Then the man who was producing the voice, which was supposed to be divine, was discovered and shown up. In consequence the King was angered, and commanded that the order of the Magians should be reduced to a tenth of its numbers. Having done this, he told Maruthas to build what churches he wished. This circumstance led to the spread of Christianity among the Persians. At this point, therefore, Maruthas returned from Persia to Constantinople; but was again, after a short interval, sent back as an envoy. Once more the Magians devised schemes to prevent the King from receiving him. They caused a certain smell to rise in the place from which the King usually crossed, and insinuated that it was caused by the Christians. The King, however, now holding the Magians in suspicion, investigated the matter with care, and once more realized that it had been

arranged by them. In consequence he punished many of the Magians. Maruthas, however, he held in greater honour, and highly esteemed the Romans, and willingly made peace with them.

#### AGATHIAS.

(born 536 A.D.)

(ed. Niebuhr) II, 23 f: (C. 99-100): Such..are the Persian customs with regard to the disposal of the dead; and in this way, while the flesh is being removed, the bones, cast at random over the ground, lie naked and rotting. There is an absolute ban upon placing the dead in any kind of tomb or coffin, as also against burying them in the earth. If the birds do not quickly pounce upon a body, or the dogs do not at once approach and tear it to pieces, they consider the person in question to have been of evil character, and that his soul was wicked and abandoned and dedicated to the evil daemon. In such a case the relatives mourn the dead man all the more, for they believe that he is absolutely dead and that he has no part in the happier lot. Similarly they rejoice in the happy fate of him whose body is most quickly devoured and are lost in admiration of his soul, which they believe to be perfect and godlike, and sure to ascend to the place of the good. As for the ordinary obscure person, if he is, while on military service, laid low by any very malignant disease, they carry him out while still breathing and conscious. In this case a piece of bread, some water, and a staff are laid beside him. As long as he is able to partake of the food, and some strength remains in him, he keeps off approaching animals with the stick and scares away the would-be feasters. Before complete extinction, a stage is reached when the conquering malady prevents him any longer from moving his hands, and then the wretched man, half-alive, but already on the point of giving up the ghost, is devoured. Thus they deprive him of the hope that he might perhaps have recovered. Many, indeed, have recovered their strength and returned to their homes, just as on the tragic stage men appear from the gates of darkness, lean and pale and fit to frighten any one they meet. When a man returns in this way, everybody shuns and avoids him as under a curse and still a subject of the chthonic powers. He is not allowed to resume his ordinary way of life until he has been purified by the Magians of the pollution of the death which they, forsooth, had expected would overtake him, and until he has, as it were, established in return a claim to live again. Clearly, the races of men, whenever they severally live according to customs



which have prevailed for a very long period, regard any violation of them as a thing which they must avoid, as contemptible, and indeed as the sort of thing in which no faith should be placed. Nevertheless men have discovered explanations of and reasons for their own customs. These differ in different places, and may be true or merely deliberate fabrications of a plausible nature. Nor do I see anything remarkable in the fact that the Persians also investigate the sources of their own customs and attempt to show that they are superior to those observed everywhere else. But I am very surprised to find that the original inhabitants of the country, who must have been Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Medes, did not have the same beliefs that are held there to-day. In the neighbourhood of the city of Ninus and in Babylonia, tombs and graves were made for the dead of old time, and preserve the memory of a custom in no way different from our own. Whether their contents were bodies or ashes (which would involve the assumption that these people were cremated according to the usage which prevails in Greece), the difference between the ancient and the present practice was complete. 24. The ancients then did not hold the opinions which now prevail as to the proper disposal of the dead; much less did they practise the lawless freedom of sexual intercourse which brands their degenerate successors, who associate freely with their daughters, not to mention their sisters and nieces and even, the most shocking sin of all, in the name of all the laws of nature—with their mothers! That even this abomination was introduced by them can be clearly seen from the tradition that Semiramis, who popularised this disgraceful license in Assyria, desired, in old time, to have relations with her son Ninyas, and actually made advances to him; and that Ninyas repelled her in anger, and in the end, seeing her eagerness and impatience, killed his mother as the only alternative to incurring the guilt of incest. Now, if such relations were sanctioned by custom it is impossible to believe that Ninyas would have adopted such brutal methods. But why should I quote very early cases? Coming to the period just before the rise of Macedon and the downfall of the Persian Empire, it is said that Parysatis, wife of Darius and mother of Artaxerxes, conceived the same incestuous passion as Semiramis, and that Artaxerxes, when she made advances to him, was far, indeed, from putting her to death, but avoided her and pushed her away; which shows that he regarded such a relation as unholy, as a violation of national custom, and as no element in normal and natural life.

*ib.* II, 24 (G. 248-249; C. 100-101): The Persians of today ignore and have abandoned almost all their earlier

customs and instead observe certain practices of a different nature and much corrupted, in obedience to the doctrines of Zoroaster the son of Hormasdeus. Just when this Zoroaster or Zarades—for he is known by the two names—was at the height of his power and enacted his laws, one cannot state with certainty. The modern Persians say that he lived in the time of Hystaspes, limiting themselves to this general statement, since it is exceedingly doubtful and it is impossible to ascertain definitely whether this Hystaspes was the father of Darius or was another man of the same name. At all events, at whatever period he flourished, he was a leader amongst the Persians and a pathfinder in the field of magic ritual; moreover, he even altered the earlier rites and added to them a number of elaborate doctrines of a heterogeneous character. For example, in primitive times they venerated Zeus and Cronus and all the divinities commonly mentioned among the Greeks, though, of course, they did not know them by the same names. As it happened, they called Zeus Belus, Heracles Sandes, Aphrodite Anaitis and the others this or that as the case might be, as we are told by Berossus the Babylonian, as well as by Athenocles and Simacus, writers who have recorded the history of the Assyrians and Medes from its very beginnings. Nowadays, however, they agree in most points of doctrine with the sect called Manichaeans, so far as they believe there are two primary principles, one that is good and at the same time has generated the things of highest worth, the other the exact opposite in both respects. To these principles they apply strange names in their own language. For instance, the good divinity, or, perhaps, demiurge, they know as Ormisdates, the evil and baneful one as Arimanes. The greatest of all the religious festivals they celebrate is the one that is called the slaying of evil things, in which they kill a vast number of reptiles and such other beasts as are wild and inhabit the wilderness and offer them to the Magi as though to demonstrate their piety; for they fancy that in this way they achieve deeds that gratify the good divinity and cause distress and harm to Arimanes. They reverence water more than anything else, even to the extent of not washing their faces in it and of refraining from touching it except to drink it and use it on their plants.

*ib.* 25 (C. 101-102) They invoke by name and labour to propitiate many other gods, a practice in which they resemble the Greeks, as they do also in having sacrifices, purifications and divination. They hold fire in honour and regard it as very holy, in consequence of which fact the Magians guard it in certain small and supposedly sacred buildings

and never let it go out ; and it is by reference to it that they perform their secret rites and carry on their enquiries into the future. This last-mentioned art I consider them to have received from the Chaldeans or some other people, since it is not found among the rest. Such then, or nearly so, is the nature of their beliefs, which make a very composite body of doctrine, in forming which they have laid a great many peoples under contribution.

*ib.* 26 (C. 102): A certain . . . Persian named Artaxares, of very humble and obscure origin, but a man of action, full of energy and with the ability to modify existing conditions, collecting some associates attacked and overthrew the king, Artabanus, and, assuming the tiara himself, restored the Persians to their imperial position once more, having brought to an end the Parthian dominion. He was a firm adherent of the religion of the Magians and himself performed its secret rites. In consequence of his support the Magian order became powerful and arrogant. This indeed was nothing new ; they had been under this imputation from early times ; but they had never reached such a pinnacle of honour and independence, and at times could be ignored by the government. For example, when, long ago, on the death of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, the Magian Smerdis stole the throne for himself, the party of Darius would not have objected nor put to death Smerdis himself and many of his associates, unless they had held, as they did, that the Magians were not entitled to the distinction of sitting upon the royal throne. So far indeed were they from regarding this slaughter as abominable, and not rather as meriting the interest of posterity, that they actually made the anniversary of the revolution a festival, with the title of the "Slaughter of the Magians," at which they perform sacrifices of thanksgiving. At present, however, they are the objects of universal favour and esteem ; the government is carried on in accordance with their wishes and instructions ; they superintend details of civil life, such as the making of contracts or the institution of a suit at law, examining the conduct of the business and giving a decision upon it. The Persians would not regard any action whatever as legal or just, unless it were ratified by a Magian.

*ib.* 31 (C. 102-103): When they (sc. the ambassadors to Chosroes). . . went back they had, it is said, a very extraordinary and memorable adventure. Having stopped to rest in a certain part of the Persian territory they saw the body of a man, only recently dead, which had been cast forth carelessly and

without burial. Saddened by the wickedness of the barbarian custom, and thinking it only right to give what attention they could to the person so wronged, they made their servants lay out the corpse as best they could and then dig a grave and bury it. While they were all asleep that night one of them (not knowing his name, I cannot say who it was) had a dream in which he seemed to see an elderly man so entirely unknown to him that he could not even guess who he was. He was noble and venerable and the nature of his clothes and his very long flowing beard made him look like a philosopher. He was shouting out two lines of poetry to the man who was dreaming, as though in the attempt to urge and advise him: "Do not bury the unburied but suffer him to become the prey of dogs. Earth, the mother of all, welcomes not a man who destroys her." Thoroughly awakened by his fright, he recounted his dream to the others, who were for the time unable to guess in what it would result. But about dawn, when they got up and went on their way, they passed, as the nature of the ground compelled them to do, the spot where they had so rashly buried the corpse; and there they found it, naked once more, and lying on the surface, as though the earth had in some way spontaneously cast it up into the light of day, refusing to harbour the uneaten flesh. Dismayed by this extraordinary spectacle, they continued their journey, without giving the body any more attention of the kind to which they were accustomed. They remembered the dream, and came to the conclusion that it was the penalty and punishment of the Persians for their licentious intercourse with their mothers, that they should lie unburied and be torn to pieces by dogs, as they so richly deserved.

GREGORY OF TOURS.

(lived about 538-593 A.D.)

History of the Franks (Migne, P. L. LXXI) 164 f. (G. 250; C. 103): Now the firstborn son of Cham was Chus. Under the tutelage of the devil he was the inventor of the whole art of magic and of idolatry. Prompted by the devil he was the first to institute the worship of an image and by deceitful means to show to men stars and fire falling from the sky. He went to live among the Persians who called him Zoroaster, that is, living star. From him they learned also to worship fire, and because he was consumed by fire sent down from heaven they now reverence him as a god.

GREEK INSCRIPTION AT CYRENE.<sup>1</sup>

Gesenius, *De inscriptione Phoenicio-Graeca in Cyrenaica*, Halle, 1825, pp. 13-14 (GM 313): The community of goods and wives is the fountain of divine justice and brings perfect peace to those good men who have been called from the blind vulgar herd, a class whom Zarades and Pythagoras, the most excellent of religious teachers, agreed should practise the communistic form of life.

## SIMON (MAGIC SYMBOL OF CYRENE.)

Thoth, Cronus, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Epicurus, Masdaces, John, Christ, as well as our Cyrenaic teachers are in harmony in enjoining not to acquire private property, but to maintain the laws and war against their violation; for the practice of living blessedly the communistic life is the very fountain of justice.

## EUAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS.

(died after 594 A.D.)

Ecclesiastical History (Migne, P.G. LXXXVI, 2) V, 14 (C. 104): He (sc. Cours) . . . having, along with his associates, acquired a large sum of money and valuable booty, and taking with him the baggage-animals with their loads, including the sacred fire of Chosroes, which was regarded as a god, rode round . . . the Persian camp, singing songs of triumph.

## MENANDER PROTECTOR.

(born about 550 A.D.)

Essay on Laws (ed. de Boor) p. 176, 11 f (C. 104): The (treaty) . . . with the king of Persia was written in Persian characters, but the words of course have the same validity when translated into Greek: "Chosroes, the divine, the good, the child of peace, the ancient, king of kings, happy, pious, the doer of good, to whom the gods have given great good fortune and a mighty empire, giant of giants, who bear the impress of the gods, to Justinian Caesar, our brother."

*ib.* 182, 21 f. (C 104): . . . the position of the Christians in Persia was regularised as follows: they were to be able freely to build churches and worship God, and to celebrate without hindrance their hymns of thanksgiving; they were not to be

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<sup>1</sup> Wrongly dated in the 83rd Olympiad; according to internal evidence the inscription is at least as late as the 6th Century A.D.



compelled to adopt the worship of the Magians, nor to invoke, against their will, the gods believed in by the Medes; on the other hand, the Christians for their part were to refrain entirely from converting any Magians to our faith. It was also ruled that all adherents of the Christian religion should be entitled to bury their dead in tombs, in the manner customary among ourselves.

#### ISIDORE OF HISPALA.

(lived about 560—636 A.D.)

*Etymologicum* (ed. Lindsay) V, 39 (G. 251): Thara at the age of seventy begat Abraham. Zoroaster invented magic.

*ib.* VIII, 9, 1 (G. 251; C. 104): The first of the Magians was Zoroaster, the king of Bactria, whom Ninus, the king of Assyria, slew in battle and of whom Aristotle writes that two million lines of verse are indicated in the indices of his books as having been composed by him.

*Chronicum* (Migne, P. L. LXXXIII) 12 (G. 251; C. 105): During this same time Ninus, king of Assyria, sat on the throne.....In this period the art of magic was invented in Persia by Zoroaster, king of Bactria, who was killed by Ninus.

#### THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA.

(wrote about 610—640 A.D.)

*History* (ed. de Boor) IV, 8, 5, 175 (C. 105): Chosroes, king of kings, lord of lords, ruler of the peoples, the fountain of peace, saviour of men, regarded by the gods as a man good and immortal, by men as a manifest deity, the glorious conqueror, who shares the rising of the sun and lends his eyes to night,....to Baram, general of the Persians, our friend.

*ib.* 10, 2, 178 (C. 105): Looking up to the heavens and having become conscious of the existence of the creator, despising the man-made images of gods and attributing no whit of his hopes to Mithras, he naturally ignored the swift chances of danger and, having changed his faith, he changed also his fortune for righteousness.

*ib.* 16, 5, 196 (C. 105): For lions are tamed, serpents are suffocated, and Bel and Mithras are enslaved.

## CHRONICON PASCHALE.

(written after 629 A.D.).

(Migne, P.G. XCII) p. 148 (C. 105) : It is the custom in Persia for men to marry their own mothers and sisters.

*ib.* 148 (G. 251) : And Cronus died. Ninus, securing control of Assyria, founded the city of Nineveh for the Assyrians and was the first to hold the kingship there ; Semiramis also called Rhea, who was associated with him in the sovereignty, was his own mother as well as his consort.

*ib.* 149 (G. 251; C. 105) : Now from this very family sprang Zoroaster, the famous Persian astrologer, who, when at the point of death, prayed to be consumed by fire from heaven, saying to his fellow-countrymen : " If the fire burns me, take up my charred bones and preserve them, and so long as you do so the kingship will not depart from your land." After offering a prayer to Orion he was consumed by a fire from above. The Persians did as he had instructed them and continue to guard his ashes to this day.

## NENNIUS.

(wrote at the close of the Eighth Century, A.D.)

History of Britain (Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries) vol. III, p. 151 (C. 105-106) : Britus.....son of Silvius, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas, son of Anchises, son of Capen, son of Assaracus, son of Tros, son of Erechthonius, son of Dardanus, son of Jupiter, son of Saturn, son of Coelum (*i.e.* Heaven), son of Tellus (*i.e.* Earth), son of Zoroaster, son of Mesram, son of Cham (the accursed son who mocked his father), son of Noah.

## FLACCUS ALBINUS ALCUINUS.

(lived 735—804 A.D.)

On the Ritual of Divination (spurious) (ed. Migne P.L. C.I.) Col. 1178 (G. 252) : Now the first of these Magians was Zoroaster, the king, with whom they are said to have originated.

## ECLOGE HISTORIARUM.

(written in the ninth century A.D.)

*Anecdota Græca* of Paris (ed. Cramer II, p. 175, 4-11) (G.M. 316; C. 106) : About that time also Ninus, king of the Assyrians

built the city of Ninus, naming it after himself, that is, the city known to the ancients as Nineveh and in which Assur formerly lived. Though damaged by time it was inhabited in the period now under consideration, the period in which Zoroaster, the Magian, gained renown as king of the Bactrians; he it is whom he attacked in war. A short time afterward Semiramis became the consort of Ninus and built the walls of the city on a magnificent scale.

GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS.

(died after 810 A.D.)

Chronographia (ed. Dindorf), 147 f. (G. 252; C 106): Alexander Polyhistor attempts to date back the beginning of the postdiluvian kingdom of the Chaldeans to this two thousand four hundred and fifth cosmic year, calculating by means of *sari*, *neri* and *sossi* that eighty-six kings of the Chaldeans and Medes had reigned during thirty thousand and forty-nine years, that is, in nine *sari*, two *neri* and eight *sossi*; this number certain of our church historians have improperly reduced to ninety-four sun-years and eight months, thus making, the date as they claim, coincide with the two thousand four hundred and ninety-ninth cosmic year. At the close of this period of the eighty-six kings, (two of them, Evechius and Chomasbelus, being Chaldeans, and eighty-four of them Medes) this same Polyhistor introduces Zoroastres and the seven kings of the Chaldeans who succeeded him, who reigned in all for one hundred and ninety sun-years, no longer computing by *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi* and all the other irrational mythico-historical devices, but rather by sun-years. Through wrongly regarding the earlier kings as gods or demigods, the legendary historians, believing contrary to the inspired scriptures that the world is eternal, make out that the successors of these kings actually reigned for an unlimited period. As for the later kings whose reigns are known to everybody in terms of sun-years, these historians consider them mortals, in opposition to the view of Panodorus and certain others, because of the fact that after Zoroaster's calculations had ultimately determined the number of sun-years since the time of Enoch, the reigns of the kings were thenceforward reckoned in sun-years.

*ib.* 315 (G. 252; C. 106-107): Because the writings of the Greek historians are not in agreement regarding these kings and dates, permit a really distinguished author, not one of the ordinary everyday kind, thus to present his testimony:

"My narrative begins at the point at which, among others, Hellenicus of Lesbos, Ctesias of Cnidus, and, later, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, began their histories. In ancient times Asia was ruled by Assyrian kings, among whom was Ninus, the son of Belus." He then records the birth of Semiramis, and of Zoroaster the Magian, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Ninus.

#### ANATHEMAS AGAINST MANICHÆISM.

(about 835 A.D.).

Cited by Cotelarius, Works of the Holy Fathers who flourished in Apostolic times (Paris, 1672, coll. 368-376) (G. 253):

These 'Anathemas' were to be recited by converts from Manichæism to Christianity. In this long and valuable document, Zarades (probably Zoroaster) and his prayers (the Avesta?) are declared accursed as being connected with the Manichæan faith. (Gray)

Cursed be Zarades who, according to Manes, was a god who appeared prior to his time in India and Persia, and whom Manes identified as the sun; and with Zarades cursed be also the prayers known as the prayers of Zarades.

Cursed be they who assert that Zarades, Buddha, the Christ, Manichæus, and the sun are one and the same person.

Anathema be Patecius, the father of Manes, as a liar and the parent of falsehood; likewise his mother Carossa, as well as Hierax, Heraclides and Aphonius, the recorders and expositors of their writings, and all his other disciples—Sesinnus, his successor in his mad doctrine, Thomas who compiled the so-called gospel attributed to Manes, Buddha, Hermas, Adan, Adimantus, Zaruas, Gabriabius, etc. etc.

Similarly Goarius, Euchologium, or Ritual of the Greeks, Paris 1647, p. 885 (G. 253): Utterly cursed be Sarades, Boddā and Scythianus, the predecessors of the Manichæans. . . . . Furthermore, cursed be all writings prior to the Manichæans and Hierax, Heraclides and Aphonius the expositors and historians of this same impious and profane Manes; likewise Thomas, Zaruas and Gabriabius.

GEORGE THE MONK.

(wrote after 842 A.D.)

Chronicon (ed. de Boor) I, 4 (C. 107): After.....Cronus, Ninus his son reigned fifty-two years. Inasmuch as he took his own mother Semiramis to wife, the Persians acquired the custom of marrying their own mothers and sisters, for even Zeus wedded his own sister Hera.....By Ninus was begotten also Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who when about to die prayed that he be consumed by fire from heaven: to the Persians he said: "If the fire consume me, gather together my burnt bones and preserve them, and the royal power will abide in your country in like manner as my bones are preserved." After he had offered a prayer to Orion he was consumed by a fire from above. The Persians gathering up his charred bones have kept them until this day.

Chronicon I, ch. 6, §§ 8-9 (Migne, P.G. CX, col 117): (G. 254): Sacrifice to divinities was first instituted by the Chaldeans or by the Cyprians, for tradition has it that these people were Persian by nationality. As for astronomy, this was invented by the Babylonians through Oroaster and was adopted from them by the Egyptians. Men first learned geometry from dividing up immense tracts of land and when they had thus reduced it to diagrams other people appropriated the art.

The Medes and Persians invented magic, sorcery, and the casting of spells by means of potions, practices that are quite distinct from one another. That is, magic is an appeal to divinities presumed to be beneficent, just as the oracles of Apollonius of Tyana were the work of good beings; sorcery, on the other hand, is an appeal made in the neighbourhood of graves to maleficent divinities for the accomplishment of some evil effect, and for this reason the word, sorcery, is derived from the wailing and lamentations that occur in the vicinity of tombs.

RABANUS THE MOOR.

(died in 856 A.D.)

On the Universe (Migne, P.L. CXI) 15, 4 (GM. 316; C. 107): The first of the Magians, Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians was slain in battle by Ninus, king of the Assyrians. Of him Aristotle wrote that it is said that two million lines of verse are indicated in the indices of his books as having been composed by him.



## HINGMARUS OF RHEIMS.

(lived about 806-882 A.D.)

Interrogations concerning the divorce of Lotharius and Tetberga (Migne, P.L. CXXV) 15 (GM. 316-317 ; C. 107) : Moreover, this vain doctrine of magic, derived from the traditional belief in the existence of evil spirits throughout the world, had a strong following for very many centuries, a doctrine devised by Zoroaster, king of Bactria (whom Ninus, king of Assyria, slew in battle), and fostered by Democritus.

## PHOTIUS.

(Patriarch of Constantinople 856-867 and 878-886 A.D.)

Bibliotheca (Migne, P.G. CIII) 72, 1 (C. 107) : A work of Ctesias of Cnidus was read, a history of Persia in twenty-three books.

*ib.* 9 (C. 108) : He (Cambyses), when he succeeded to the throne, sent his father's corpse, under the care of the eunuch Bagapates, to Persia for disposal.

*ib.* 15 (C. 108) : Darius . . . became king of the seven, as had been agreed between them, when his horse, as the result of an ingenious contrivance, gave the first neigh on the rising of the sun. The Persians celebrate a festival called the Slaughter of the Magians, commemorating the murder of the Magian Sphenadates. Darius ordered a tomb to be built for him upon the twin mountains, and it was built.

*ib.* 17 (C. 108) : Darius . . . having crossed the bridge burned the dwelling-houses and the temples of Chalcedon, because the inhabitants had laboured to destroy the bridges near the city, and had raised to the ground the altar which Darius, when he crossed, had dedicated to Zeus, lord of crossings.

*ib.* 21 (C. 108) : Xerxes . . . marched against the Greeks, because the people of Chalcedon had attempted, as I have already said, to break the bridge, and because they had destroyed the altar set up by Darius.

*ib.* 54 (C. 108) : He (Terituchmes) had . . . a sister, by the same father, named Roxane, who was fair to look upon and skilled in archery and in hurling the javelin. Terituchmes, being in love with her, cohabitated with her and was estranged from Amestris, etc.

*ib.* 57 (C. 108): Concerning the man who disposed of the body of the father (sc. of Artaxerxes) by burning it with fire, in contravention of custom, which proves that Hellanicus and Herodotus are not telling the truth.

*ib.* 59 (C. 108): That Parysatis came to Babylon, mourning the fate of Cyrus, and that with difficulty she recovered his head and one of his hands to which she paid the last dues, and sent them to Susa.

*ib.* 81 (G. 254; C. 108): A volume in three books by Theodorus has been read, a volume entitled, "Concerning Magic in Persia" and "What is the Superior Advantage of Piety." These books he dedicates to Mastubius, who happened to be a local bishop of Armenia, as he was setting out from that country. In the first book he propounds the pernicious Persian doctrine that was introduced by Zarades, or, in other words, the doctrine concerning Zaruam whom he represents as the author of all things and also calls Chance. He records that Chance when offering a libation that he might bring Hormisdas into the world he begat both him and Satan; furthermore, he discusses the blood relationship of these gods. In short, after describing this impious and utterly abominable doctrine in detail, he proceeds to demolish it, all in his first book. In the remaining two books, however, taking the creation of the world as his starting-point, he first fluently discusses divine Grace itself and then gives a full account of the true faith.

This Theodorus is apparently Theodorus of Mopsuestia, for he boldly proclaims the Nestorian heresy, especially in the third book, but also prates fantastically of the complete restoration of sinners.

#### MENOLOGIUM GRAECORUM.

(written 867-888 A.D.)

(ed. Albani) III, p. 44 (C. 109): Pherbuthe, the witness to Christ, after the agony and death of her husband, the bishop Simeon, stayed at home with her sister and the latter's maid, and taught those who came to her the faith of Christ. But the Jews hated them, and found a pretext to compass their death in the following way. The wife of Saborius, the king of Persia, favoured the Jews. When, about this time, she fell ill, they came to her and brought charges against this saintly woman,

saying: "Because your husband put to death the bishop Simeon, his sisters have brought you low through the practice of magic, so that you may die. Now if you wish to recover, give orders that their bodies be severed in two and that the halves be impaled, and then pass between them, and you will recover." This was done, and the saintly women gained the kingdom of Heaven; but the queen, so far from recovering, received Gehenna for her portion.

#### SUIDAS.

(wrote in the tenth century A.D.)

Lexicon (ed. Bekker) (G. 255): Antisthenes of Athens: ..... wrote ten volumes, the first on magic. Discusses Zoroaster, a Magian who invented the doctrine. Certain writers attribute this to Aristotle, others to Rhodo.

Astronomy: The arrangement of the stars. Through Zoroaster, the Babylonians were the first to discover it; after Zoroaster, Hostanes also. By means of the celestial movements obtaining at a man's birth they would predict what would later happen to him.

*ib.* (G. 255; C. 109): Zoroaster: Medo-Persian. A great authority among astronomers. Introduced the title, Magians, as they were commonly known among themselves. Lived five hundred years before the Trojan War. Tradition attributed to him four books on nature, one on precious stones, works on observations of the stars, five books on eschatology.

Zoroaster: Astronomer. Lived in the time of Ninus, king of Assyria. Prayed to be killed by celestial fire, enjoining the Assyrians to preserve his ashes, for in this way, said he, their kingdom would continue for all time. To this day his command has been observed.

Zoromasdes. A Chaldean wise man. Wrote on mathematics and natural science.

Magians were the philosophers and the theologians of the Persians, the first of whom was Zoroaster; after him, in order, came the Hostanæ and the Astrampsychi.

Pythagoras: Next (Pythagoras studied) under Abaris the Hyperborean and Zares the Magian.

## GEOPONICA.

(written in the tenth century A.D.)

(rec. Beekh) preface to Book I (G. 249) : I have produced this book by bringing together the statements of various ancient authors concerning agriculture, the cultivation of plants, seeding and many other useful activities. They have been gathered from the works of Florentius, Vindanionius, Anatholius, Verutius, Diophanes, Leontinus, Tarantinus, Democritus, from the Marvels of Africanus, from Pamphilus, Apuleius, Varro, Zoroaster, Fronto, Paxamus, Damegeron, Didymus, Sotio and the Quintilians.

Rubrics of Zoroaster (G. 250 ; C. 110). I, 7 : That one ought to know when the moon is above the earth and when below Zoroaster.

*ib.* 8 : Concerning the rising of the Dog and foretelling events that result from it. The same.

*ib.* 10 : Indication of the results of the first thunder every year after the rising of the Dog. Zoroaster.

*ib.* 12 : The twelve-year period of Zeus and all that it brings to pass as it makes the circuit of the twelve divisions of the zodiac. Zoroaster.

*ib.* II, 15 : A prognostic, that one may know what kinds of seeds will grow and flourish. Zoroaster.

*ib.* V, 46 : In what sign of the zodiac the moon is at the time when crops should be garnered ; harvesting should occur while the moon is waning and is beneath the earth. Zoroaster.

*ib.* VII, 5 : Concerning the opening of wine-jars and why one ought to observe carefully the proper time for this.

*ib.* 6 : Concerning pouring wine from one vessel into another ; when wine should be so transferred as well as why wine that is stored in the same jar has a distinctive quality. The same.

*ib.* 11 : So that wines may not be turned by thunder and lightning. Zoroaster.

*ib.* X, 83 : To make an unfruitful tree bear fruit. Zoroaster.

*ib.* XI, 18, 11 (G. 249 ; C. 110) : Zoroaster says that for a year the eyes of him will not be sore who is the first to have seen the closed calyces of the flowers on the plant, who has wiped his eyes with three of them and who has left the rose blossoms themselves upon the plant.

*ib.* XIII, 9, 10 : Zoroaster says that the seed of lettuce moistened with wine heals those who have been bitten by scorpions.

*ib.* 16 : Concerning Spanish flies. Zoroaster.

*ib.* XV, 1 : Concerning natural sympathies and antipathies. Zoroaster.

CONSTANTINE CEPHALAS.

(Senior Chaplain of the royal palace in 917 A.D.)

Palatine Anthology (ed. Stadtmüller) VII, 162 (C. 111) : Do not burn Euphrates, Philonymus, neither defile fire with my corpse. I am a Persian ; yea, master, by descent from my sires, a native Persian am I. In our eyes, to defile fire is more hateful than dread death. Nay, enshroud my body and yield me to the earth, neither pour any libation upon the corpse.

For water also, O master, do I worship.

EUTYCHIUS.

(died in 940 A.D.)

Annales (Migne, P. G. CXI, 261-263) (C. 111) : Samardius was surnamed Magus, because there flourished at the very same time a Persian known as Zorodasht, who founded the religion of the Magi, their temples being dedicated to fire.

HUGO OF SAINT VICTOR.

(lived about 1097-1141.)

Commentary on the Pentateuch (Migne, P. L. CLXXV), on Genesis 11 (G. 255-256 ; C. 111) : Moreover, Assur having withdrawn into the country which later was named Assyria after himself was followed by successors down to Ninus, a descendant in the direct line. Ninus founded a city and conquered Cham who had survived until that time. Zoroaster, Ninus's royal neighbour who was called the discoverer and author of the maleficent doctrine of numbers, became king of Bactria ; he also wrote the seven liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven of bronze and seven of bricks, his purpose



in each case being to preserve them for posterity against destruction by both floods. Ninus defeating Zoroaster in battle burned his mathematical writings. After this, becoming bolder, he attacked Nemroth, that is, the Chaldeans, and took possession of Babylonia, transferring thither the capital of his kingdom.

## EUSTATHIUS.

(lived in the 12th century)

Commentary on the Iliad (ed. Lipsiensis) 14, 731 (C. 111) : He may mean....the popular form of dancing, such as the Persian ; for it is recorded that the Persians learnt dancing as well as riding, believing that it was an exercise conducive to bodily strength. It is also said that at the banquets of the king Antiochus, surnamed the Great, the king himself, not to mention his friends, used to dance.

Commentary on the Odyssey (ed. Lipsiensis) 18, 3 (C. 111-112): In....Persia, according to Duris, the king is allowed to get intoxicated upon a single day in the year, namely that upon which they sacrificed, on which day also the Persians used to dance. If the Persian Darius, the man who overthrew the Magians, had inscribed on his tomb the words "I was able both to drink great quantities of wine and to carry it well", this must mean that he drank heavily, but did not get drunk.

## GEORGIUS CEDRENIUS.

(lived in the twelfth century)

Campendium of History (ed. Bekker) I, pp. 29 f. (C. 112) : From his family (*i.e.* of Ninus) was descended Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who prayed to be smitten by a flaming thunderbolt from on high and to be consumed, and who charged the Persians to collect his bones after he had been burnt and to preserve and honour them. "As long as you keep them," he said, "the sovereignty will not depart from your land." So when he had been burnt by the fire from heaven, the Persians held his bones in high honour until, through their neglect of the man, they were deprived of their sovereignty.

## JOANNES TZETZES.

(lived at the same time)

Historia Varia (Chiliades) (ed. Kiessling) 66, 39 f. (C. 112) : Chosroes was ruler of Persia in the time of Heraclius ; and in

his palace in Persia he had a model of heaven upon the roof, which, while the elders were feasting, would burst forth with thunder and lightning and storms of rain, a thing to marvel at. Seven times was Heraclius at war with the Persians, and ravaged the whole of Persia and wasted it with fire and flame. And he burnt that fiery model of heaven, along with the whole palace of Chosroes of which I spake. Nay, he quenched the Persians' fire, which they revered, the fire which having been kindled in old time by a bolt from Perseus was tended without ceasing, until that time, with a never-ending succession of firebrands for lighting it, and of torches, large and fiercely blazing. Yet was it extinguished by Heraclius, to the great grief of the Persians, etc.

SCHOLIA ON THE 'THERIACA' OF NICANDER.

(written in the same period)

(Schneider, Nicandrea) 613 (C. 112, 113): Magians. . . and Scythians use a branch of tamarisk in divination. Dino, in the first book of his third treatise adds that the Median soothsayers practise divination by means of wands . . . and Metrodorus in his work on Habit says that the tamarisk is a very ancient plant, and that the Egyptians use it for head-wreaths in the procession in honour of Zeus, while in Media this is also done by the Magians.

JOANNES OF ANTIOCH.

(lived in the middle of the 12th century)

Excerpta Salmasii (Mueller, Fragments of the Greek Historians IV p. 541, *frag.* 3) 386 (C. 113): Ninus. . . . married Rhea, also called Semiramis, his own mother; from him the Persians got their custom of marrying their mothers. Then also was born Zoroaster, the astronomer, who prayed to be slain by a fire from heaven and bade the Assyrians preserve his ashes, for only thus would they retain the royal power.

PETRUS COMESTOR.

(wrote about 1170 A.D.)

Historia Scholastica (Migne, P. L. CXCVIII), on Genesis, 39 (G. 256-257; C. 113): Ninus conquered Cham who was still living at that time and proceeded to reign over Bractia (al. Thracia); he was said to be the same person as Zoroaster, the discoverer of magic, who inscribed the seven

liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven of bronze, seven of brick to preserve them against destruction by both floods. Ninus, however, burned his books. Idols, then, were first devised by these same men.

*ib.* 47 (GM. 317; C. 113): Abram, skilled in knowledge of the stars (in which, according to certain authorities, he trained Zoroaster, the discoverer of magic), knew that inclement weather conditions which occur at the rising or the setting of planets always change back to normal in fifty years; what he saw happen among the stars, he desired to reproduce on earth.

#### MICHAEL GLYCAS.

(wrote at the close of the twelfth century)

Annales (ed. Bekker) 2, 43f. (G. 256; C. 113-114): After Cronus Ninus reigned for fifty-two years; by taking his own mother Semiramis to wife he established the custom whereby the Persians marry their mothers and sisters. From his line sprang Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who said to his people: "If fire from heaven consume me (for this was his prayer) take the remains of my bones and keep them in order to maintain your kingdom." This they did, and in the histories which the great theologian Gregory wrote against Julian he states: "The Babylonians, through Zoroaster, are said to have discovered astronomy and the Egyptians to have been the first to receive it from them; magic was invented first by the Medes and then by the Persians. Magic differs from sorcery; whereas magic is popularly reputed to be an appeal to beneficent dæmons for the accomplishment of some good object, sorcery is concerned with maleficent dæmons that hover about tombs and is designed to accomplish evil. The name sorcery is derived from the wailings and lamentations that are heard among the tombs; the word Magic, from Magusæi, or Persians, with whom it originated. In their own country the Persians are known as Magians.

#### THE APOSTOLIC HISTORY OF ABDIAS.

Book VI, 7; Passion of Saints Simon and Jude (G. 257): And this is recorded concerning James. His elder brothers, Simon, who is surnamed Chananæus, and Judas, who is also called Thaddæus and the Zealot, themselves apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, when through the revelation of the Holy Spirit they had by faith entered upon the religious life, found in their midst as soon as they had begun to preach two Magians,

Zaroos and Arfaxat, who had fled out of Ethiopia from before the face of Saint Matthew the Apostle. Now the doctrine of these Magians was so debased that, blaspheming the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, they affirmed God to be a being of darkness and declared that Moses was a worker of evil as well as that all the prophets of God had been sent out by the divinity of darkness. Withal, they maintained that the soul of man possessed a portion of God, that the material of the body was fashioned by an evil god, in fact consisted of substances of contrary nature, one kind being those in which the flesh delighteth and the soul is cast down, the other those in which the soul rejoiceth and the flesh is made sad. Furthermore, they preached that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, was a mere phantom, not a real man, not born of a true virgin, not really tempted, never suffered indeed, was not actually buried, nor rose again from the dead on the third day. Persia, being degraded by this preaching, was in such state as to need to find, after Zaroos and Arfaxat, through the blessed apostles Simon and Judas, the Great Teacher, to wit, the Lord Jesus Christ.

*ib.* 13 (G. 257—258) : When the Leader had discoursed upon these and other matters before Xerxes, the king, Zaroos and Arfaxat, the Magians who had been with the king, were roused to jealousy and in great indignation scattered false tales abroad, saying that these men were of evil spirit and were such as craftily to devise harm against the gods of the people and against the power of the king's rule. "For, O King," said they, "if thou wishest to know that what we say is true, we shall not suffer them to speak until they shall have adored thy gods." Then spake the Leader : "Wilt you venture upon a contest with these men on the understanding that, if you conquer them, they will then at length be banished from the court ?" The Magians said : "It is but just that these men adore our gods in like manner as do we." The Leader replied : "Naturally, your contention with us will reveal this very thing." To which the Magians said a second time : "Thou desirest to behold our power that thou mayest prove that they will not be able to speak in our presence. Bid those take their stand here who are eloquent in speech, of great keenness in argument and loud of voice. If then they shall be so bold as to speak in our presence, thou shalt judge us to be men of little skill. Thereupon at the command of the King and of the Leader all the pleaders made themselves ready and were counselled by the Leader that as consistently as they could they were to carry on the debate and that through the force of their principal argument they were to keep their opponents from establishing their contention. After the Magians had spoken before the



King, the Leader and all the other men of high estate, all the opposing band of pleaders became so inarticulate that they could not indicate even by means of motions that they were unable to make any speech. When almost an hour had passed, the Magians said to the King: "That thou mayest know we belong to the divine company of the gods, we suffer them to speak indeed, but not to be able to walk." When they had so done, they added: "Behold, we restore to them the power of walking, but we shall cause them to see nothing even with their eyes wide open." After they had done this also, the King and the Leader became exceedingly fearful, when their friends said that these Magians ought not to be regarded with disrespect, lest they cast a weakness upon the limbs of the King and of the Leader. Now this spectacle lasted from the beginning of the day until the sixth hour and the pleaders were overcome with grief and returned each man to his own house wearied through the exertions of his mind.

*ib.* 17 (G. 258): When the apostles had said these things, the Magians were taken to the guest-chambers and for the space of three days were unable to take any food or any drink at all, and among whom there was a ceaseless crying out occasioned by the pains they suffered. Afterwards when matters came to such a state that both of the Magians alike, Zaroes and Arfaxat, were on the point of dying, the apostles drew near and said: "God doth not deem himself worthy of enforced acts of service. Rise ye therefore while still in your right minds and are yet free to turn from evil to good and to pass from darkness to light." But their adversaries abiding in their unwillingness to accept the faith, in like manner as they had fled from before the apostle Matthew fled from these two apostles to the worshippers of images throughout Persia that they might stir up hostility against the apostles, saying everywhere: "Behold, the foes of our gods are coming to us...."

*ib.* 20 (G. 258): As one might expect, the Magians, Zaroes and Arfaxat, who did many evil deeds among the cities of Persia and said that they were of the race of the gods, kept flying from before the face of the apostles, remaining in each city only until they learned that the apostles were approaching.

*ib.* 23 (G. 259): At this time even the two Magians of whom we have spoken, Zaroes and Arfaxat, were burned by a flash of lightning and turned into cinders.



ib. VII, 1, on St. Matthew (G. 259) : When he had himself gone into this country (*i.e.* Ethiopia) and was sojourning in a great city called Naddauer, in which dwelt Aeglippus, the King, there happened to be there at the same time two Magians, Zaroos and Arfaxat, who were entertaining the king with their marvellous acts so that he literally believed them to be gods. The king trusted them in everything, and the entire populace of this city that has been mentioned and of distant regions of Ethiopia as well came daily to do them homage. For example, they would make men suddenly lose the power of walking and would keep them standing motionless as long as they, the Magians, desired. Likewise, through rites that they performed they controlled men's power to see and to hear. They would command serpents to strike, which the Marsi also are wont to do, and themselves healed many people by means of incantations. It is a popular saying that greater reverence is shown to evil-doers through fear than to doers of good through love ; in this same manner were the Magianas venerated among the Ethiopians and for a long time held in high esteem.

ib. 4 (G. 259) : Moreover, Zaroos and Arfaxat were meanwhile striving to arouse them by their magic art (*i.e.* their own two serpents that lay asleep at the feet of Matthew the Apostle), but they were unable either to make them open their eyes or even to move at all.

(GM. 317-318) :

"A reference to Zoroaster may also be contained, as Mr. George Hamilton, of Ann Arbor, Mich., writes me, in the commentary on the Thebaid of Statius, vi. 338, attributed to Lactantius Placidus : 'But great credit must be accorded the Persians for this treatment of a secret doctrine, because among them was first devised the system that embraces these mysteries (or, as one may state it, the famous Persian was the great teacher of this doctrine).' "

NICEPHORUS CALLISTI.

(wrote about 1320 A.D.)

Ecclesiastical History (Migne, P.G. CXLVI) XIV, 18 (C. 114-115) : The Persian (*sc.* Isdigerdes) openly held Maruthas in great honour. . .but the Magians, observing the great consideration which the Roman bishop enjoyed, . .were vexed,

and hesitated in their calculations, fearing that the king's interest in Maruthas would lead to his wavering in his allegiance to his own worship. For Maruthas, by entreating God with prayers, had immediately cured the king of a headache which had caused him great suffering for a long time, and which had defied all the arts of the Magians. At any rate they attempted to deal with the king by guile. Now the Persians are devoted worshippers of fire, and they give the name "Magians" to those whose tendency is to regard the elements as gods. It was the king's custom to adore the perpetually-burning fire, and so the Magians concealed a man underground at the usual time for the king's devotions, and told him to give utterance as follows: "The king must be outlawed, for he is convicted of impiety toward the divine, in that he believes the Christian priest to be favoured of god, and esteems him highly." The Persian, when he heard this, was for expelling Maruthas from his kingdom, in spite of the reverence he felt for him. But Maruthas, in his love of God applying himself earnestly to prayer, easily learnt the source whence the Persians were being deceived. Going up to Isdigerdes, he said: "O king, be not made mock of in this manner. Enter, and when you hear the voice wafted towards you, give orders for the ground beneath to be dug up. The plot will be easily revealed. It is impossible that fire should speak. How could it, when it is soulless? No: it is a contrivance of man that works this marvel." Isdigerdes followed his suggestion. He again went into the chamber wherein the imperishable fire was kept, and when he heard the same voice, at once gave orders for the place to be dug up. And so the man underneath, who had been thought to be a god, was shown up. This greatly enraged the king, who had the order of the Magians reduced to a tenth of its numbers. After this he gave Maruthas permission to found churches in Persia wherever he liked, and in consequence Christianity spread almost daily and, in the Persian territories, without risk. Next Maruthas returned to Constantinople, since his ambassadorial duties, which had occasioned his presence in Persia, had by now been discharged. Circumstances, however, called for another embassy, and he was sent back on this duty. The Magians were again contriving expedients designed to prevent his being treated on terms of equality by the king, at least in the matter of honour. They found means to cause a horrible odour to rise in a place from which the king usually started. They then concocted and spread abroad false charges, alleging that the odour had been produced by the associates of the Christian priest. But their previous conduct led the king to suspect that the Magians were responsible for this thing also, and he sought out and enquired after the guilty with great

zeal. When it was once again recognised that those responsible for producing the noxious odour were Magians, the king again punished many members of the order. Maruthas he held in even greater honour.

#### THE SO-CALLED ZOROASTRIAN LOGIA OR CHALDEAN ORACLES.

The translators can do no better than refer the reader to the illuminating note on the Logia contributed by Dr. Louis H. Gray to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson's book, "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," pp. 259-261. We quote but one paragraph although we advise the reader to read the whole note.

"In the writings of the Neo-Platonic philosophers there lay hid a mass of citations, termed 'Chaldaean Logia,' or more usually, simply 'Logia,' or again, introduced by the formula: 'As saith one of the Gods,' or even appearing without any introductory phrase whatsoever. These Logia date in general about the end of the second century A.D., and they present to us a heterogenous mass, now obscure and again bombastic, of commingled Platonic, Pythagorean, Stoic, Gnostic, and Persian tenets. I am inclined to doubt that the entire mass comes from a single source, although some have suggested that a certain Julian the Chaldaean, or his son, who lived in the period of the Antonines, may perhaps have been the author. However trivial the Logia justly appear to us, they received the serious attention of Iamblichos, Proklos, Simplicios, Damaskios, and Iohannes Ludos, while Hierokles and later Plethon wrote 'compends of the Zoroastrian and Platonic Systems.'"

One cannot imagine language more difficult to translate than that of the greater part of these Logia. Their incompleteness, their utter want of syntactical structure in many cases, their derivation from a vast variety of unrelated sources, the hopelessly corrupt condition of a great deal of the text, the obviously esoteric meaning of many lines together with their lack of dependence upon any definite statement of thought, make the task of translating the Logia a protracted process of divination. One can do but little more than guess in the light of his reading in Zoroastrian, Gnostic, Neo-Platonic and similar literatures, what the lines seem to mean. Our translation is not presented dogmatically, for we are convinced that in this case one translator's honest guess is as good as another's.

We have followed Gray's text wherever possible; occasionally we have adopted the emendations suggested by Kroll and

these the reader can observe for himself in Gray's footnotes to his text. We give our translation without commentary, except so far as the extreme compression and obscurity of numerous passages compel us to give expanded interpretations rather than absolutely literal versions.

*Ps.*—Psellus.

*Dam.*—Damascius.

*Proc.*—Proclus.

### UNITY, DUALITY AND TRINITY.

*Ps.*—The question of paternal unity.

*Dam.*—Unity is extended and begets duality.

*Proc. Dam.*—Now the function of duality consists in this: it flashes forth segments of itself in the form of thoughts; it is that which controls all things and which assigns to its place everything not already so assigned.

*Dam.*—The triad over which unity rules is the source of light in the whole world. This arrangement is the starting point of all division.

*Proc.*—That is to say, the mind of the Father commanded that everything be divided into three parts; to this his will gave assent and from that moment all things were divided. The mind of the eternal Father spake thus to the triad, because he governs all things by means of Mind.

*Dam.*—And there appeared in the triad virtue, wisdom and intellectual knowledge of exact truth. Thus of these elements is composed the substance of the triad, which, though existing previously, was nevertheless not primary, but rather is that by which these things are measured. One may infer, then, that all things are subservient to these three principles.

Of the three orbits of existence the first is the sacred one, the middle, the one that consisteth of air, and the third, different from the others, that which warmeth the earth with fire, and which is the very spring of springs, aye, of all springs. It is the womb that containeth all things, the place whence shoot up the beginnings of substance in a multitude of forms.



*Proc.*—Thence issueth the trailing fiery whirlwind, like to the flower of faint flame, shooting forth in the hollow vaults of heaven; for from here descend earthwards the marvellous rays of light.

### FATHER AND MIND.

*Ps.*—The Father apprehended himself but did not limit his own peculiar possession, fire, to his own intellectual powers.

*Ps.*—Nothing imperfect proceedeth from the Father, for he hath made all things perfect and hath entrusted them to Secondary Mind, the name that was first given to the whole race of man.

*Proc.*—This Father-begotten light of itself plucked the flower of Mind from the Father's powers. For the self-engendered Mind of the Father, having conceived of deeds to be done, cast upon the world the fiery shackles of love to the end that through the acts of love all things might endure eternally and that what had been wrought by the splendours of the Father's Mind might not perish; in brief, that through love the elements might continue to exist. By thinking the Father is able to implant his mind in all sources and beginnings. There is a source of the things that pertain to Mind, to wit, the lowermost depth of the Father's being; nor hath it gone forth from there, but it hath abided there, even in its most sacred place, amid the divine silence. Fire, which was at first his own special faculty, he confines in Substance not by acts of body but by the exercise of Mind. For here and there throughout the world the Father's Mind, which thinks that which is susceptible of thought and conceives ineffable beauties, hath scattered material tokens of itself.

*Dam.*—The mind of the Father represents a complete natural division and is not further divisible. By Mind he comprehends that which may be thought and brings the power of perception to the world. By Mind he comprehendeth that which may be thought and bringeth Soul to the world.

### MIND, THE THINKABLE AND THINGS PERTAINING TO MIND.

*Dam.*—Mind and the Thinkable are of one and the same essence.



*Proc.*—Mind coexisteth with the thinkable, for it hath no separate being. Things that pertain to Mind are also thinkable things, that is to say, those things that one conceiveth when he engages in thought. The thinkable is food for him who thinks. Strive to learn that which is thinkable, since it existeth apart from Mind, even from that Mind which governeth the world of fire. For the maker of the world of fire is the mind of Mind. Ye who employ Mind know the depths of the paternal Mind that transcendeth the world. Division that was conceived by Mind is the beginning of all division. There also existeth a certain thinkable element which thou must think of with the flower of Mind.

*Dam.*—If thou gently inclinest thy mind to this thing, thou shalt perceive it, but not by merely thinking something wilt thou perceive it. For there is a helpful power that shineth all about us, flashing forth segments of itself in the form of thought, and one must therefore not endeavour to perceive this element summarily, but by means of the extenuated flame of extended Mind which measureth all things save this one thing, namely, that which is thinkable. Upon this injunction must thou ponder: if thou turnest thy mind to this thing, thou shall perceive it without effort; turn to it rather thy sacred eye that is experienced in such things and direct thy mind free of all impressions upon this thinkable thing, that thou mayest learn it, for it existeth apart from Mind. All Mind perceiveth God, since Mind doth not exist without the Thinkable nor the Thinkable without Mind. All things yielding to the intellectually-perceived flashes of the fire of Mind obey the persuasive counsel of the Father; that is, in exercising the faculty of thought and in continuing to revolve ceaselessly and perpetually. It is observable also in the whirling movement of sources and origins of things and in their tireless revolution. Through its holy name it darteth hither and thither among the worlds with an unwearyed whirling motion because of the swift rebuke of the Father. The source of the souls of animal life is under the control of two minds. The Creator, who with his own hands fashioned the universe, was the first to leap into being from Mind, investing himself in fire that he might mix, as in a bowl, the sources of unions, spreading over them the flower of his own fire. All things scintillate with emanations of Mind and are filled with the impulse of Love. Unformed things are given form. They fly about like unto swarming bees, separating into corporeal shapes in the world. That which Mind declareth, it declareth, forsooth, by means of thought; for while created things possess power, Mind cometh from the Father.

## INCANTATIONS, IDEAS, BEGINNINGS.

Numerous are these things and flying swiftly forward they dominate the worlds of the zone of light ; they occupy three levels of altitude. Beneath them lies the great reservoir of the beginnings of things. Beginnings when they had excogitated the intellectually perceived deeds wrought by the Father, revealed them to human eyes in bodily form, acting as interpreters between the Father and Matter and creating visible imitations of the invisible. They inscribed, as it were, the invisible creation upon the visible. The Mind of the Father sped swiftly through space and with his untiring will conceived all manner of forms ; these sprang forth all from the same source, for the Father can both will and bring to completion. Through them the Mind of the Father connected with the Father each by its own separate channel, one form of life here and another there, these having been distributed among various intellectually-perceived entities through the agency of the fire of Mind. For the world with its variety of forms the Father established a pattern, indestructible and intellectually perceived, not hastening to spread over the world the traces of that form in which the world took visible shape. And he was pleased with these manifold designs, whose source is but one, namely, that whence issue all individual forms, unshaped, separating into corporeal shapes throughout the world, and which gathering together into formidable masses, fly about like swarming bees. One is borne this way, another that, being conceptions of Mind which issue from the Father and which through unending time strive to seize upon the flower of fire. The supreme primitive creative force, like a fountain that wells up of itself, poured forth these forms from the Father's being. Even incantations that are conceived of Mind themselves exercise Mind, being so moved about by inarticulate acts of will as to participate in thought.

## HECATE, UNITERS, FOUNDERS OF MYSTERIES.

All these are derived from the Father. But the inexorable thunderbolts and the folds of resplendent light that contain the fiery whirlwind are both derived from Hecate who herself is born of the Father ; from her likewise come the vitalized flower of fire and the mighty wind of the highest heavens beyond the empyrean. To her the Father assigned the keeping of the heights of Heaven by means of his fiery storms, imbuing with his own might those whose function it is to bring things together into one. The whole world is upheld by intelligent beings that bend not under their task. She (Hecate) is a Creative goddess.

and one who dispenses life-bearing fire, and the Author of life filleth her womb and endueth the Uniters with the fruitful potent power of fire. They are also guardians of the Father's works. The Father maketh himself like unto his creation moved by the desire to assume the form of the images. The founders of mysteries have been in intimate communion with the Uniters. To the intellectually perceived flashes of fire of Mind everything yields in servile obedience, as likewise do all things that are subservient to the Uniters who possess material form. When articulate Man put on his panoply of strength and armed his mind and soul with threefold might, he consented to the limitation that he should not move about in the realms of fire like a nebula without mass, but rather that he should possess solid form. But it is the Uniters who create atoms and visible things, which have a corporeal material existence.

### SOUL, NATURE.

Because a Soul, through the might of the Father, is flaming fire, it is immortal, hath mastery over life and holdeth within it an abundant means of filling the void spaces of the world. For it is a copy of Mind and that which Mind bringeth into being is in part corporeal. When the channels of fire are brought together, Soul accomplisheth the works of fire which is eternal. After the Father hath given thought thereto, I myself, a soul, take up my abode therein. Soul is warm and giveth life to all things. For the Father of gods and men hath implanted Mind in Soul and Soul in our inert material body. High in the heavens Soul quickeneth light, fire, the ether and the worlds. The works of nature are wrought by the intellectual voice of the Father. Soul it is which hath ordered and continueth to order the mighty heavens as co-worker with the Father. Her horns have been established aloft. Upon her divine shoulders hath the boundless originating power of nature been laid. This untiring power in its turn ruleth the worlds and created things, that the heavens might speed along through their eternal course, drawing all things along with them. Swiftly turneth the sun about its axis, that it may follow an accustomed path. Look not with thine eyes upon the divinely-given name of this power of nature.

### THE WORLD.

The Creator is he who of himself fashioneth the world (for that which may be termed the substance of fire is a different thing from the world), fashioning all things with his own hand that the cosmic mass might be made absolutely complete, that

the world might become manifest and not seem to have the consistency of a mere membrane. The whole world is made of fire, water, earth and clear celestial air. Mathematically, both rational and irrational are the combinations of the world's component parts. Fire, which is the bearer of the vital principle, proceedeth by way of various separate channels now to one life, now to another, and in descending from above passeth in a straight line through the centre of the earth to the middle of the fifth zone, which also is a bearer of fire, and where the channels of matter begin.

The Creator hastened to create Man a creature endowed with speech. He is another source of power that controlleth the realm of fire. The centre is the point from which all radii extending to the circumference are equal. The mind of the Father hath strewn the world with distinctive marks of Himself. The centre is the middle point of all the radii of the Father's Mind; it is indeed a copy of Mind and that which is created partaketh of the nature of body also.

#### HEAVEN.

Now the Father erected seven supports for the worlds. When he had enclosed heaven as it were within a rounded vault, he set therein the numerous company of the fixed stars and placed beneath them the seven living planets. In their midst he put the earth, poured water into the depressions upon its surface and above these diffused the air. He established the numerous company of the fixed stars lest through being widely scattered they might exert baleful influences. With a steadfastness that permitteth no deviation did he establish the numerous company of the fixed stars, having made fire to embrace fire; aye, this he did with a steadfastness that permitteth no deviation. Underneath the Father set six planets with the fiery sun in their midst as a seventh planetary body, assigning to them, which aforetime were irregular, regular orbits in the heavens.

Now the divine Mother brought into being the mighty sun and the resplendent moon. The ether, the sun, the spirit of the moon regulateth the misty atmosphere, the solar cycles, the lunar harmonies and the hollow spaces of the sky. Tuneful strains come from the ether, from the streams of light that flow out from the sun and moon, and from the misty air. Broad is the expanse of the atmosphere; the moon goeth through its cycle in a month and ceaseless is the turning of the sun. The divine Mother receiveth all these sweet strains of the ether, the sun, the moon and the



atmosphere and combineth them into one music. Fire is at once the product and the source of fire, Hair may be seen on the down of a human being's head at birth. Cronus, consort of the sun, is the guardian of the sacred summit of Heaven. The cycle of the ether, the ceaseless movement of the moon, the streaming mists, the mighty sun and the resplendent moon.

#### TIME.

Time is a divinity that dwelleth in the world, is eternal, infinite, new and yet old, and in form is like unto a spiral. It is another fountain of power that controlleth the empyrean world.

#### SOUL, BODY, MAN.

Thou must hasten toward the light and the Father's effulgent rays whence thy soul came to thee clad in a wealth of Mind. This did the Father contrive in his Mind and by Him was mortal man given a soul. Now the Mind of the Father hath implanted here and there in souls evidences of itself, having imbued soul with an intense love. The Father of men and gods hath ingrafted Mind in Soul and hath established us in Body. All divine things are without Body, but to them for our sake he hath attached bodies, since our bodies are impotent to govern beings that are without body, because of the nature of the body upon which ye have been engrafted. In god reside souls which trail behind them potent flames of fire that derive from the Father and from them, the fruits of the empyrean, as they descend from above, is gathered Soul, the flower that nourisheth life. Wherefore, when souls have considered in thought the deeds of the Father, they shun the inexorable omen of divine Destiny. Even if thou beholdest this thy soul restored to its original estate, yet the Father granteth another to make up the complete number. Verily those souls that come down from heaven to earth are the most blessed above all souls. It is they that are supremely happy and depend not upon the ineffable threads of Destiny; aye, even all those souls which, O Sire, proceed from Thine effulgent self or come from Zeus himself according to the mighty necessity of Destiny. May profound immortal Soul lead the way and let all eyes be lifted on high! Go not down into the world below whose light is darkness and beneath which reacheth an incredible abyss, aye, and Hades, also, enveloped in gloom, who aboundeth in filth and delighteth in lifeless forms, is devoid of Mind, dwelleth amid steep precipices, knoweth not straightness, ever windeth hither and thither in a wretched abyss and ever consorteth with a body invisible, inert and devoid of breath. This is the world that hateth the light and these the winding streams by which many



mortals are carried off. Seek thou paradise ; strive to find the fountain of the soul whence thou art ; when thou hast done service to the body in some wise thou shalt be restored to the condition from which thou hast come, having made the deed one with the Holy Word. Go not downwards where beneath the earth a steep chasm lieth and hurrieth mortals down to its depths that have seven channels ; beneath standeth the throne of dire Necessity. Do not seek to add ought to Destiny. The soul of men will in some way press God close unto itself ; it is in no wise mortal but is wholly possessed of the spirit of God, for it boasteth of a harmony by whose influence the body of man was brought into existence. When in an act of piety thou hast reached out thy mind, which is of the nature of fire, thou shalt save even thy corruptible body. Even the Shade hath a portion in a place that is enveloped in light. Attach firmly reins of fire all about the soul which is formless and unformable. Thought, warm as with fiery heat, occupieth the foremost place. A mortal man when he hath come nigh unto the fire will receive light from God. For a man who abideth long there are swift-flying spiritual beings. The punishments of men act as restraints, and the fruits of evil matter are at once useful and good. Let fire-bearing Hope rear thee in the dwelling place of the angels. But the Mind of the Father doth not suffer Soul to use her own free will, until such time as she depart from forgetfulness and acquire speech, remembering the holy covenant of the Father. To some He hath granted to comprehend the distinctive mark of light that may be learned by experience ; others though heavy with sleep he hath rewarded with his own strength. Defile not the breath nor penetrate beneath the surface nor leave off-scourings of thy body upon steep places. Take not thine own life lest thy soul, departing from thee, be left desolate and resourceless, because accursed are the souls of those that leave the body by violence. They who separate soul from body are restored to animate existence but are easily destroyed. The source of virtue lieth wholly within Hecates, left flank and yet without hurt to her virginity. O Man, who art the creation of most intrepid Nature, strive not to grasp with thy mind the vast size of Earth, for the plant of exact truth groweth not in the soil of Earth ; neither by putting many measures together seek to compute the dimensions of the sun, for it is borne along in its course by an eternal will in spite of thee. There is a regular movement of the moon and a forward progress of the stars. Concern not thyself with the swift coursing of the moon ; the stars, impelled by necessity, press ceaselessly onward, a motion that was not instituted on thine account. The broad wings of the birds that fly on high are

not fraught with truth, nor are the severed pieces of sacrifices or of the entrails of victims; these things are all naught but refuse, the basis of such deception as itinerant traders use. Do then shun them, intending as thou dost to open for thyself the holy paradise of piety where are gathered together virtue and wisdom and obedience. The beasts of Earth will inhabit thy body, and then even over them will She mourn as over her own children.

### DAEMONES, MAGIC RITES.

Nature persuadeth the dæmons to be holy and the offspring of evil matter to be useful and good. These things, however, I disclose in the sacred precincts of Thought. Fire surgeth forward in the air like unto a swelling wave, either as an unformed flame whence issueth a voice or as a flood of light that envelopeth the earth, speeding and whirling through space. But it is possible for one to see with his eyes a steed which gleameth even more brightly than light or a youth that rideth upon the swift steed, shining like fire or clad in gold or devoid of vesture or even wielding a bow and standing upon the back of the steed. If thou speakest to me many times, thou shalt behold all things grow dim, for then doth the dome of heaven appear to be without substance. The stars shine not, the light of the moon is veiled, earth abideth not and all things are scorched by the flames of thunderbolts. Say not that the image of Nature is self-revealing, for thou mayest not behold the dæmons until Body shall have attained perfection. By means of sacred rites they bewitch souls and seduce them from the holy mysteries. From the deep recesses of earth leap forth the dogs of the underworld which never reveal true body to mortal man. The magic power worketh in Hecate's whirling top. Never alter strange-sounding terms of magic, for each group of dæmons hath its own divinely-appointed terms that have secret power in mystic ceremonies; whensoever thou beholdest most holy fire without form or shape leaping in great flashes throughout the depth of the universe, listen to the voice of fire. Whensoever thou seest the divine dæmon coming earthwards, offer sacrifice of a stone while uttering magic words. All things have sprung into being from fire alone. The Father engendereth not fear, but rather implanteth the spirit of obedience.



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